

ENTRÉE
OF THE
Duke of SAVOY.

WITH A
Faithful RELATION

OF

the Ill Treatments which Monsieur de P^{re}
Capeaux, Ambassador of *France*, receiv'd from
His Royal Highness, against *The Law and*
Right of Nations.

Done into *English*, from the Original in *French*.

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L O N D O N :

by J. Nutt, near Stationers-Hall, 1705. R.



T H E

Author's *Advertisement*;

THE sudden Change that happen'd at the Court of *Turin* about the latter end of 1703. did so mightily surprize all *Europe*, that 'tis no wonder the Publick has been, and is still so forward to inquire into the true Reasons of 'em : But as the publick News did not answer that Expectation, since they gave us but a confuse Notice of the matter, and had either wilfully, or for want of Knowledge, omitted what is most deserving to be taken Notice of, the Author has thought fit to make this short Account publick, as being sufficient fully to satisfy the Curious.

One may see here a very exact Account of the most secret Intrigues of the Duke of *Savoy*, and in how many Occurrences the *Right of Nations* and the Faith of Treaties (how sacred soever they ought to be amongst Sovereign Princes) have been violated. One may also learn here with what Resolution and Steadiness Embassadors ought, on all Occasions, to keep up the Honour of their Character ; and follow the Example of Monsieur *de Phelippeaux*, when they are not treated with the Respect that is due to them.

The Reader may easily judge by the Perusal of this Relation, that it was composed from very exact Memoirs : And to render it yet the more faithful and unquestionable, the Author has been careful to relate, very often, the very Words used by those that were employed in these surprizing Intrigues and Negotiations.

T H E

Translator's *Advertisement.*

TH E following Sheets being written by an *Emissary of France*, and printed both in *Venice* and in *Holland*, with Design to render the Duke of *Savoy* odious, not only to the *Italian* Princes, but likewise to the High Allies, an Answer to this Relation will be publish'd with all possible Expedition: Wherein it will be made appear how His Royal Highness was unavoidably necessitated to *declare for*, and how highly he has *merited* of the Grand Confederacy.

T H E

T H E
 Secret Intrigues
 O F T H E
 D U K E of S A V O Y, &c.

ALL Europe was intent upon the Steps which *Victor Amedeus* Duke of *Savoy* would make, after the Death of *Charles II.* King of *Spain*, because 'twas not doubted but the Decease of that Prince would kindle the War in *Italy*, and especially in the *Milaneze*. The Houses of *Austria* and *Bourbon* were equally concerned in the drawing of the Duke over to their Party; and His Royal Highness who was not ignorant of it, said once to the Marquis of *St. Thomas*, his first Minister and Favorite, *This is a very favourable Juncture for me to procure great Advantages to my House.*

And indeed, *Philip V.* was hardly Proclaimed King of *Spain*, but he sued for a Marriage with *Mary Louisa Gabrielle* of *Savoy*, Youngest Daughter to that Duke, who did not refuse that Alliance: So that this Marriage was blessed at *Barcelona* the third of *November*, 1701. His Eldest Daughter was some Years before Married to the Duke of *Burgundy*, apparent Heir to the Crown of *France*: And this double Alliance was, beyond Dispute, of a great Advantage to the Duke of *Savoy*, since his two Daughters were by this means placed on two of the most powerful Thrones in *Europe*.

This Marriage was succeeded by a Treaty signed by the Kings of *France* and *Spain*, and by the Duke of *Savoy*; by which His Royal Highness engaged himself to furnish the two Kings with ten thousand Men of his Troops, for the Defence of the *Milaneze*, and granted a free passage thro' his Territories to the *French* Troops, that were to march into *Italy*; and the two Kings gave Him the Chief Command over their Armies in *Lombardy*; to all this great Subsidies were added, and whatever Conditions His Royal Highness had demanded.

It seemed, that those Dispositions ought, in some measure, to have puzzled the Imperial Court; but *William III.* King of *Great Britain*, one of the

most skilful Princes in Politick Affairs that the latter Age produced, still assured the Emperor, that he ought not to be uneasy at the Duke of *Savoy's* last Engagements, being persuaded that he might be brought over again. The Imperial Troops had already entred, and made some Progress in the *Milaneze*, when the Duke of *Savoy* took the Field; those which this Prince was to furnish, joined the Army of the two Crowns very late, and His Royal Highness did not head 'em, till about the latter end of *July*. The Campaign was not yet at an end, when His Royal Highness asked more considerable Advantages from the King of *France*; I mean far greater Subsidies. He thought that being denied them, he would have reason to quit the Interest of his Son-in-Law, to side with the Emperor, because the King of *England* still entertained him with the hopes of uniting the *Montserrat* to his Dominions: But he did not succeed in this Project, for his most Christian Majesty granted him again what he desired.

Whilst His Royal Highness was assuring the Crowns of *France* and *Spain* of his unviolable Zeal for their Interest, and gave Passage thro' his Territories to the Troops of *France*, from which he exacted 48 Pence for each Ration of a Trooper or Dragoon, and proportionably for every Foot-Soldier, he made his Apology to the Imperial Court, and in a Letter which he sent King *William*, to give him an Account of his Conduct, he told him in these very Words, *That it was against his Inclination that he granted the French Troops a Passage through his Territories, to march into the Milaneze; but that he found himself forced to it by reason of the unhappy Situation of his Dominions.*

How inclined soever the Duke of *Savoy* was to ingratiate himself with the Emperor, and with King *William*, no body can accuse him of having wanted Courage at the Approach of any Danger, whilst he Commanded the Army of the two Crowns: The King of *France* himself did him that Justice, in a Letter he sent to the Pope; *His Natural Valour*, said that Monarch, *he did signalize on several Occasions: But it were to be wished, he had less exposed his Person, and had more faithfully fulfilled the chief Conditions of the Treaty.*

Some accuse the Duke of *Savoy* of having sent the Imperialists an exact Account of the Designs which the *French* and *Spaniards* formed; Which Accusation is really very injurious to a Sovereign Prince. I know not whether it be altogether ill grounded, but at least 'tis but too certain, that he did not much care to clear himself of it, when a *French* Party had brought back to the Camp a *Piemontese* Officer, that was Educated near the Duke's Person, and honoured with his Confidence, and who was taken some Leagues off of the Camp in a House, where he was conferring with some *German* Officers, who did not use him as a Prisoner.

The Prince of *Vaudemont*, Governor of the *Milaneze*, held once a Privy Council with the Duke of *Savoy*, and the other Generals of the Army, in which an Expedition into the *Mantuan* was resolved upon, the Execution whereof depended on Secrecy. Next Day the Prince of *Vaudemont* began his March to execute this Project; But he was not gone two Miles

the Army, when the Duke of *Savoy* dispatched two Couriers to him, by two several Roads, by which he informed him of the Reflections he had made upon this Enterprize, of which he mentioned the Particulars in his Letter, which not being in Cypher, and one of the Couriers being taken by the Imperialists, Prince *Eugene* prevented Prince *Vaudemont's* Design. The Duke of *Savoy* owned his Imprudence, and promised he wou'd, for the future, take better measures.

Whilst the Duke of *Savoy* was at the Head of the Armies of the Two Crowns, he still kept Correspondence with the Courts of *Vienna*, and *London*, where his Ministers still resided, under Pretence of private Business, that concerned 'em personally: This increased the Mistrust the King of *France* had of that Duke.

The Campaign of 1702. was not yet ended, when the Duke of *Savoy* returned with his Troops into *Piedmont*, notwithstanding the *French* and *Spanish* Generals desired him not to do it; and represented to him what Necessity there was to leave his Troops in Conjunction with theirs, because the *German*s were superior. After his Return to *Turin*, he represented to His most Christian Majesty the Smallness of the Subsidies he received from him, and asked for new ones; which were again granted him. The Duke of *Savoy's* Intrigues, and the Sollicitations that were used to make him quit the Engagements he had enter'd upon with the two Crowns, were not unknown to the King of *France*; yet his Majesty dissembled his resenting it, in hopes that that Prince's Honour, and true Interest, would not permit him to expose himself to the Dangers, in which the new Party that was proposed him to embrace, was like to overwhelm his Dominions.

Not long before King *William's* Death, the Duke's Minister at *London* received an Order from his Master to solicit the Subsidies which his *Britannick* Majesty had promised him; but he forbad him, at the same time, to make any Negotiation in writing, for fear the Emissaries of *France* should get any Intelligence of it. That Minister assured the King of *England*, by word of Mouth, " That the Duke his Master was resolved to be absolutely govern-
" ed by His Majesty's Directions; that it was from his Protection, he ex-
" pected all; that it was by his means he hoped for Success in his Preten-
" sions, for which he would never make any direct Application to the Em-
" perour; that the Danger he was threaten'd with was imminent; but that
" the greater the Sacrifice, the more proportionable the Advantages ought
" to be; that it was from His *Britannick* Majesty's Protection His Royal
" Highness hoped for the Grandeur of his House; that the Possession of the
" *Montferrat* was not capable to tempt him; that he would refuse it, if
" offered him by the King of *France*; that His Royal Highness had already
" resolved upon reducing half the Troops he had engaged himself to fur-
" nish the two Crowns with, untill such time as the Treaty, which the
" Emperour propos'd him, should be concluded.

During this Negotiation, King *William* chanced to die; this grieved His Royal Highness to the Heart, and made him change his Batteries; for not daring to intrust a Woman with his Secrets, Queen *A*— had at first no Share in his Confidence. The Negotiations which had been enter'd upon at *London*, were continued at *Vienna*. The Duke of *Savoy* writ to the Emperor, " To express his profound Gratitude for the Kindness His Imperial Majesty shewed him; that he had always been in hopes that His Imperial Majesty would be so generous as to be concerned at the hard Engagements he had been forced to make for the Preservation of his Dominions; that although these Engagements had been of great use for his Imperial Majesty's Service and Interest, yet he had felt a strong Opposition in his Soul, when he underwent the fatal Condition that was imposed upon him; that he would never forsake the Emperor's Interest, to whom he was united by Gratitude, and whose Protection he would ever account an Honour; that it was not unknown to His Imperial Majesty that ever since the Peace of *Ryswick*, he had always offered to serve His Imperial Majesty in *Italy*; that he had always insisted upon the Importance of taking the necessary measures to preserve to the House of *Austria* the Dominions belonging to the Crown of *Spain*; that after His Catholick Majesty's Decease, he had represented at *Vienna*, how necessary it was to prevent the Dutchy of *Milan's* being seized upon; that if these Advices had been followed, the Execution of the Project that had been form'd, would have proved easy; that he might have been at the Liberty of sacrificing himself according to his Desire for the Service and for the Interest of the House of *Austria*; and that he wou'd thereby have avoided the violent Extremities which he had been constrain'd to undergo. That as he would constantly persist in the hearty Desire he had of sacrificing himself for the Interest of the House of *Austria*, he hoped that His Imperial Majesty would give him some extraordinary Marks of his Justice and Generosity, since his Zeal had already appeared the Year before, by retarding the March of his Troops, which took the Field in a less Number, than what he was obliged to furnish, as likewise by his delaying to go to the Army, where his Presence was of some Advantage to the Interest of His Imperial Majesty. That he would keep the same Course the next Campaign; that he would furnish but half the Troops he was obliged to give; that he would leave the best of his Forces in his Dominions, the better to shew his Inclination for His Imperial Majesty's Service, hoping that his Imperial Majesty would be pleased with the Duke's most humble and most sincere Dispositions.

As they had not quite forgot at *Vienna*, the Treaty which the Duke of *Savoy* made with *France* in 1696. unknown to the Allies, notwithstanding he had promised not to quit'em; they could hardly trust to his Promise, and this Mistrust increased the more, as they reflected on the double Alliance that Prince had lately contracted, by the Marriage of his Daughter

with King *Philip V.* They could not imagine that the Duke would sincerely enter into a League, whose Foundation was to dethrone his Son in Law, and his Daughter, from whom he had never received any manner of Discontent.

All these Considerations moved the Imperial Court to take right measures to treat with the Duke of *Savoy*, in such a manner as might not be suspected to the Allies. They proposed to send him a Person of Trust from *Vienna*, which should be provided with sufficient Powers to conclude a Treaty, and as he would remain *incognito* in *Piedmont*, it would be easy to manage this Intrigue unknown to the *French*, who would never think that an Imperial Minister would come to abscond, as it were, in their Sight. Monsieur *Salvay* was at first employed in this Negotiation, he went several times from *Vienna* to *Turin*, and from *Turin* to *Vienna*, till at last when the Emperour questioned no more the Duke's good Intentions for the Interest of his House, he sent him the Count *d' Aversperg* with a full Power to treat of and conclude an offensive and defensive Alliance with His Royal Highness. This Minister arrived at *Turin*, in *July 1703.* where he absconded for a while; but as they were apprehensive that Monsieur *de Phelippeaux*, Ambassador of *France*, might get some Intelligence of this Negotiation, the Imperial Envoy went by Night from *Turin*, to a Country House belonging to the Marquess *de Prie*, His Royal Highness's Secretary of State, where that Envoy resided, and was very often met by the Prince and his Ministers.

The Duke of *Savoy* did not command the Army that Campaign, voluntarily absenting himself; but he made good what he had promised the Emperour, by reducing the Troops with which he was to furnish the two Crowns, to Half, and even these joined the Army but very late.

Whilst the Duke of *Savoy* was complaining of the Smallness of the Subsidies which the King of *France* gave him for the Payment of his Troops, his Royal Highness increased 'em by new Levies; he provided and fortified his Towns; made several Attempts to obtain Leave for the raising of several Regiments in *Switzerland*; and secretly exhorted the Protestants of *Orange*, which retired into *Brandenburgh* with a *French* Pass, not to go far off, in hopes that they might be re-established in their Native Land ere it was long.

As if all these Steps had not been sufficient to give the Court of *France* some Suspicion of that Prince's Caballs, they published already in all the Foreign Courts, that the Duke of *Savoy* had a mind to repair, by some extraordinary Action, the wrong he had done his Allies in the late War: This Treaty was before the time it self proclaimed at *Lisbon* by the *English* and *Dutch* Ministers, who thought they were not to keep it secret from the King of *Portugal*, that they might persuade him the easier to enter into the Alliance they proposed him. The Emperour's Embassadors, at *Rome* and in *Poland*, were not discreeter: For they publicly spoke of this Treaty, and related all the Circumstances of it: They said amongst other Particulars, That the Duke of *Savoy* was to invade *Dauphine*, and to join his Troops with the *French*.

naticks of the *Cevennes*, in order to make a Conquest of *Languedoc* and *Provence*.

The most Christian King, who had been silent hitherto, caus'd, at last, part of the Advices he had receiv'd, concerning this Intrigue, to be imparted to the Count de *Vernon*, Ambassador of *Savoy*, who disowned 'em, and protested that his Master was not capable of the like Perfidiousness; that he was too loyal an Ally to make any Infractions of the Treaties he had signed with His most Christian Majesty, and the King of *Spain*.

Monsieur de *Philippeaux*, Ambassador of *France* at *Turin*, was also order'd to know the Duke of *Savoy's* last Intentions: That Prince denied he had enter'd upon any Engagement with the Enemies of the Two Crowns, which, said he, are also mine: *I am too tender of my Honour not to resent highly the Strokes of the like Reflections; It is true, added he, that the Situation I am in, and the Course I have kept since the Death of the King of Spain, gives me reason to expect an Increase of my Dominions, since my Services do not a little contribute to the Welfare of those of the Spanish Monarchy, to which the Milaneze is not of great use.*

It was easy to perceive that the Duke of *Savoy* aim'd at the *Milaneze*, as an Acknowledgment for his having given his Daughter to King *Philip*, and sold some Thousand Men to the King of *France*. The Emperor had given him already some hopes, that if he came to be Master of the *Spanish* Dominions in *Italy*, he would leave the *Alexandrin* at his Disposal: And if the *French* had promised him all the *Milaneze*, he would perhaps have rejected the Emperor's Offers, except he had considerably augmented 'em.

The King of *France* thought that if he should take from the Duke of *Savoy* all Hopes of Succours from *Germany*, he might keep him in the Interest of the Two Crowns: Which obliged that Monarch to order the Duke of *Vendome*, who commanded the Army, to march towards the *Tirol*, to join with the Duke of *Bavaria*, to oblige the Emperor, by this Diversion, to withdraw the Troops he had in *Italy*; but this Attempt had not the Effect that His most Christian Majesty expected; on the contrary, the Absence of the Army did facilitate the Conclusion of the Duke of *Savoy's* Treaty with the Emperor: His Royal Highness even concerted measures with General *Sarremberg*, who commanded the Imperialists, for the advancing towards the *French* Army, amongst which were the Troops of *Savoy*, which had Orders to pass over to the *Germans*, and to turn their Arms against the *French*, in Case they should offer to oppose this changing of Sides.

This Project was not kept so private, as to prevent its being discovered by the Court of *France*, which immediately dispatched one Courier after another to the Duke of *Vendome*, with Orders to return into *Lombardy*, to prevent the Duke of *Savoy's* Designs.

Monsieur de *Vendome* being arrived near *San Benedetto*, disposed all his Troops in his Camp, in such a manner, that those of *Savoy* were surrounded by those of *France*. That General sent for the chief Officers of *Savoy* to

his Tent; he represented to 'em in what manner the Duke their Master had and did actually act, contrary to the Faith of Treaties, and paternal Love; he told 'em afterwards that the King his Master commended as much the Bravery and Zeal of the Duke of *Savoy's* Troops, as he blamed that Prince's Disloyalty; that His Majesty was very much satisfied with their good Services, and that he was, at the same time, very much concerned that His Royal Highness did force him to take Measures, that were so much against his Intentions; yet that he was constrain'd so to do, to prevent the ill Designs of an Enemy, the more dangerous, as that he had been hitherto concealed: He declar'd to 'em, at the same time, the Orders he had received for the *disarming* and *keeping Prisoners of War* all His Royal Highness's Subjects, that were in the Service of the Two Crowns; but that His Majesty had order'd him, at the same time, to allow a Sword, and to give Liberty to the Officers, that should pass their Word of Honour, that they would not go without leave out of the Towns of the *Milaneze*, which they should please to chose for their Residence, in which they would meet with all manner of good Treatment.

'Tis easy to judge what Surprise these Officers were in (those at least that were unacquainted with what was transacted at *Turin*;) several maintained, that the Duke their Master was wrong'd, in being thought capable of an Action so much beneath a Sovereign Prince; but till such time as they should be better informed of the Matter, they submitted to the severe Law, which was impos'd upon them, every one protesting his private Innocence. At the same time, all the Soldiers were disarmed, and made Prisoners; which was executed on the 29th of September, 1703.

After this Execution, Monsieur de *Vendome* marched towards *Piedmont*, at the Head of Twelve Thousand Men; but before he enter'd upon the Duke of *Savoy's* Territories, or committed any Act of Hostility, he sent an Officer, with a Trumpeter, to His Royal Highness, to carry that Prince a Letter from the most Christian King; the Contents whereof were these,

SIR,

Since neither Religion, Honour, Interest, Alliances, nor even your own manual Sign, signify any thing between us; I send my Cousen, the Duke of *Vendome*, at the Head of my Armies, to make known to you my Intentions. He shall allow you but Four and Twenty Hours to resolve what you have to do.

Signed, *Louis*.

The Duke of *Savoy* made no Answer in Writing, neither would he send any Body to the Duke of *Vendome*, to be informed of the Proposals he was charged with: He only said, by Word of Mouth, to the Officer that brought him this Letter, That the ill Treatment which had been lately done to his Troops, and the manner he had been dealt with, had determin'd him to take

cautions for his own Security; that he was not daunted at Threatnings, and that he had no other Answer to make, nor would he hearken to any Proposals.

The King of France did not fail to inform all the Princes of Italy, and the Swiss-Cantons of the Reasons that had moved him to act in this manner with the Duke of Savoy, and His most Christian Majesty, in his Letter to Pope Clement 11th, of the 14th January, 1704. tells his Holiness, amongst other Reasons, " If we had formed the Design of invading his Dominions, as he
" endeavours to persuade People, his Conduct had given us, long before,
" many lawful Occasions to treat him as an Enemy; there was no need to
" let them accumulate: But far from having these Thoughts, we are still
" disposed to let Piedmont and Savoy enjoy a perfect Neutrality during the
" Course of this War, provided that the Places of those Countries be guar-
" ed by the Swiss, in the manner we proposed to the Cantons; that the
" Passage of the Country be free to our Troops; and that the Duke of Savoy
" disarm his Forces.

No sooner was News brought to Turin, that the Duke of Vendome had disarmed and arrested the Troops of Savoy, which, as I have already observed, happened the 29th of September, but His Royal Highness, out of ill Policy, and an unseasonable Bravado, permitted the Emperor's Ambassadors to appear in publick: The Count of Aversperg and Monsieur Salvay, an Aulick Councillor, walked about Turin Streets, with their Livery-Men, from the 3d of October, and affected to pass under the Windows of the Ambassador of France, to whom His Royal Highness and the Marquess of St. Thomas had protested three days before, that all what was spread about, relating to his keeping Intelligence with the Emperor, was false and suppositious: It seemed that for His Royal Highness's Honour's Sake, the Imperial Ministers ought to have remained in their Retreat, until such time as could have been supposed they departed from Vienna, since San Benedetto's Transaction; But the Great do often dispense with the Rules of Decency.

When Monsieur de Phelippeaux was inform'd by a Letter from Monsieur de Vendome, of what had been done, he sent Word to Monsieur Pajeau, Commissary of War, to withdraw immediately into his House with all his Papers, thinking that his House would be respected.

The 3d of October, about Eleven in the Morning, whilst the Imperial Ministers were at the Duke of Savoy's Audience, Count Tarigny, Master of the Ceremonies, went to Monsieur de Phelippeaux, to whom he said,

His Royal Highness, who has a great deal of Esteem and Kindness for your Person, is sorry he is obliged to secure you, Sir, by Reason of the unheard-of Injustice, and Violence, with which his Troops have lately been used, whilst they served the King, and His Royal Highness was wholly in His Majesty's Interest. The Marquess d'Aix, Captain in the Regiment of Savoy, stands at your Door with Esqy Men; His Royal Highness desires you not to go out any more, nor any of your Retinue: I am, Sir, much displeased with this Errand, which I did not expect, I had the Honour to see you Two Hours ago.

The Ambassador answer'd Count *Tarigny*, " That the Order which he came to signify unto him, did neither surprize nor daunt him; that he would keep under Arrest, and have always a due Respect for the Person and Dignity of His Royal Highness; but as for the pretended Violence offered to his Troops, he was obliged to tell him, that the King his Master could not dispense with doing otherwise; that, if it had been possible, he ought to have seized the Towns, Territories, and whatever belonged to the Duke of *Savoy*, since, tho' he was tied to his Majesty by a solemn Treaty, he had concealed for Three Months the Emperor's Ministers in his Dominions, with whom he continually treated about making War upon the King. *Tarigny* had still the Confidence to deny the Fact, and to say that all the Ambassaor told him, concerning the Emperor's Ministers, and their Negotiations, were as so many Riddles to him; which obliged Monsieur *de Philippeaux* to reply,

" Sir, It is needless to dissemble a Truth so well known; I know how times His Royal Highness's Ministers and your self have waited on the Emperor's Ministers at the Marquess *de Prie's* House, and at the other Places where they did abscond since the Month of *July* to this day; 'tis not yet an Hour ago since they pass'd by under my Windows, accompanied by your Servants, whilst you was expecting to introduce 'em to the Duke's Audience. All your Caballs and theirs, I am well inform'd of; I have acquainted the King my Master therewith, and have even sent His Majesty a good many written Papers, that were taken up in the Chambers of the Imperial Ministers, which have sufficiently discovered all their Intrigues.

He afterwards desired Monsieur *de Tarigny* to obtain him some Post Horses and a Pass as for an Enemy, in order to his going into *France*, and that his Attendants might, in the mean while, be permitted to go and buy Provisions both for him and his Retinue, or to suffer that some might be brought into his House: *Tarigny* told him that as for the Horses and Pass, he would speak to His Royal Highness about it, and that in the mean while his Steward might go and buy Provisions, but that he should be accompanied by some of the Soldiers of the Guard.

One may easily imagine into what Confusion this Discourse of the Ambassador of *France* did put the Master of the Ceremonies; he changed Countenance several times; and could hardly say any thing without stuttering: He met, at Monsieur *de Philippeaux's*, the Spanish Ambassador, to whom he made the same Compliment; and having afterwards perceived Monsieur *Pajeau*, Commissary of War, he bad him to follow him: but Monsieur *de Philippeaux* reclaim'd him, as belonging to his Retinue, so that he remained in his House.

This House had two great Gates; the one for the Entrance, and the other for the Inner-Court; there was a Guard of eight Men put at each, and twelve Centries placed about the House, besides one on the Top of the House.

House who could see all over the Ambassador's Apartment, and the Garden that joined to it ; there was a fourteenth set in a Place, which I could hardly resolve to mention, if I had not made my self a Law not to conceal from my Reader any of the Matters, which I know for certain : For I have advanced and shall advance nothing but what I can justify by authentick Proofs. This Centry was set in the House of Office, where all the Ambassador's Servants were obliged to go, when Nature prompted them to it. Besides this Exactness, they had a most special Care to search every individual Thing that came into the House, except the Air and the Light of the Sun.

Some of the Ambassador's Servants being about the Town, when their Master was arrested, they would not allow them to come into the House, before they had been brought before the Major of *Turin*, who after he had examined and searched 'em, sent 'em back under a good Guard : But whatever Intreaties the Ambassador made, they would never permit a Smith to come to fasten an Iron Rod in the Ambassador's Chamber, though it was asked that he should be conducted and kept within sight by some Souldiers, all the while he should be in the House.

When the Master of the Ceremonies was gone off, the Marquess d'*Aix*, (by the Major of *Turin*'s Order, who is a Man that is quite a Stranger to the *Right of Nations*) attended by a Company of Soldiers, caus'd all the Chambers to be opened, and searched them ; and a little while after, he would make his Excuses for it to the Ambassador, because he had received contrary Orders, adding, *That there was such a Confusion at Court, that they gave every Moment Orders, which they revoked presently after.*

The same day being the 3d of *October*, all the Gates of *Turin* were kept shut, and all the *French*, who were pretty numerous there, were seized. They also secured three Companies of *French* Horse, that had lain the Night before at *Pianezza*, and were going to join the Army : And they likewise took two Boats loaded with Bombs, and with 2000 Muskets, that were bound for the *French* Army.

The Abbot *Sardigni*, the Pope's Nuncio, being upon his Departure to return to *Rome*, had a Mind to go and take his Leave of the Ambassador of *France* ; but the Soldiers of the Guard did no more respect his Person nor his Character, than they would have respected the meanest Tradesman in *Turin* ; whatever Complaints he made of it, he was not so much as allowed to send him a Letter of Compliments, that he had writ, though it only contained some comfortable Expressions, and had given it to read to Count *Tarigny*, in whose Presence he sealed it.

The Court of *Turin* not being willing to neglect the small Profits, no more than the great ones, notified to all the Butchers of that City, from the 4th of *October*, that His Royal Highness's Pleasure was, that the *French* Ambassador should no longer enjoy the Freedom of the Shambles, which is granted to the Ministers of Foreign Princes.

The same day the Guard was relieved, and they substituted in the Room of the Soldiers of the Regiment of *Savoy*, an equal Number of *Germans* out of *Schuylenburgh's*; but this new Guard was still under the Orders of the *Marquess d'Aix*, who is a rich Lord of *Savoy*, of the Family of *Fessol*, a most ingenious and very polite Man, who, as he said, found himself as much honoured as he was afflicted at the Employ he was charged with: His civil Carriage engaged the Ambassador to invite him to eat always at his Table: but he never fail'd, as indeed it was his Duty, to acquaint the Duke of *Savoy*, with all that he heard his Prisoner say.

As Monsieur de *Phibippeaux* foresaw that his Imprisonment would be of a long Continuance, and that his Money might fall short, he desired the *Marquess d'Aix* to know from the Countess de *Vernon*, whether she intended to make some Remittance of Money to the Count her Spouse, who was the Duke of *Savoy's* Ambassador in *France*; that, if she was in that Mind, Monsieur de *Phelippeaux* would order that whatever she pleased should be paid to him, and that she should reimburse him the Money in *Turin*, when she should have Advice that her Husband had received it. Monsieur d'*Aix* told the Ambassador the next day, that he was ordered by the Duke his Master to offer him whatever Money he should have Occasion for, and that His Royal Highness would let him want for nothing: But the French Ambassador answered disdainfully, that he would rather eat the Earth in his Garden, than resolve to borrow a Penny from a Prince, that was an Enemy to his Master.

The *Marquess d'Aix* chanced, as they were discoursing about indifferent Matters, to name the King of *Spain*, which gave the Ambassador occasion to tell him, *What! Sir, dare you name him so? don't you fear your Master's highest Displeasure?* Truly, answer'd the *Marquess*, we'll be obliged to give him another Name, as well as to the Queen, since we have owned another King of *Spain*; but the Form thereof is not yet come to my Knowledge.

The 7th of October, which was a Sunday, the Ambassador sent, by the *Marquess d'Aix's* Leave, for a Monk out of *St. Charles's* Convent, to say Mass in his House, but the Prior refused to send one, under Pretence that it was necessary to ask Leave of the Arch-bishop of *Turin*, whom the Ambassador would not suffer it should be asked from, because that Prelate had not visited him since he came to that Court. Yet Leave was given a few days after, since which Time, one of the Monks of *St. Charles* went to say Mass in the House on all Holy-days and Sundays, with this Precaution, that the *Marquess d'Aix*, and the other Officers of the Guard, went to receive the Priest at the Entrance of the House, between whom he marched to the Altar, and was conducted back again in the like manner as far as the Street; this Guard keeping him always within sight, even when he put the Ornamental Dress on, or when he laid it off.

In Ten or Twelve days Time, all the Prisons in *Turin*, and of the other Towns of *Piedmont*, were filled up with French; amongst whom were eleven Couriers, both ordinary and extraordinary, which were taken in their Way

Way to *Rome*, to other Courts in *Italy*, or to the Army: The first of the Couriers, which was seized at *Turin*, was a Servant to the Marquess de *Torcy*, Secretary of State, who carried Dispatches to the Cardinal de *Jansen*, in which were some inclosed for the Pope, and were no more respected than the other. As soon as the French Ambassador had Advice of it, and that they had taken threescore *Lewis d'ors* from this Courier, he complained thereof to the Marquess d' *Aix*, as of a downright Robbery, which, in all Appearance, was done unknown to the Duke of *Savoy*; he desired afterwards that this Courier might be transferred to his House, where he should be kept as safely as his Servants were: This Discourse produced the Restitution of the Money; but the Courier remain'd in Prison.

The Court of *Turin* perceiving, though a little too late, the ill Consequence of Count d' *Aversperg's* being seen abroad, caus'd him to abscond anew, after he had appeared publicly for four days together, and had been twice at the Dutchess of *Savoy's* Assembly. Eight days after, the Marquess d' *Aix* told the Ambassador that that Count was just arrived Post; but that Minister answered him, that this Journey ought not to fatigue him much, since he came but a League from *Turin*.

Let us leave for a while the Ambassador Prisoner with his Guards, and let us see what Steps the Duke of *Savoy* made, both in his Dominions and in Foreign Courts.

The Duke of *Savoy* had in a very short time a sufficient Number of Prisoners to exchange those of his Subjects, which the Duke of *Vendome* had seized, because most part of the Officers, the *Piemontese* especially, failing in the Word of Honour they had passed, escaped out of the Towns of *Lombardy*: They laughed publicly in *Turin* at the Imbecillity with which the French came from all Parts to fill up the Prisons of the Duke of *Savoy*, and they could not forbear to blame the little Forecaſt, that those who knew the French Court's Secrets had acted with, to prevent at least part of these Imprisonments.

The Duke of *Savoy* gave Orders for the Palissading of *Turin*, and the adding some new Works to it; they worked with an extraordinary Diligence at it, since they were finished in a Fortnight, because he was apprehensive that the Duke of *Vendome*, who from the 15th of *October*, appeared on the other side the *Po*, might begin the War by laying Siege to that Capital, the Gates whereof were to be walled up, except that which leads to *Vercell*.

The Militia was raised in all hast, both in the Towns and in the Country; all the Men, of what Age and Condition soever, were ordered to take Arms on Pain of Death; the Tradesmen, Footmen, even His and Her Royal Highness's Cooks were not excepted. They had at first a great Conceit of all these Motions, which nevertheless slackened mightily, by Reason of the Difficulties that were found, as likewise by those that were occasion'd by the Arrival of the French Troops, both in *Piedmont* and in *Savoy*.

His Royal Highness sent Ministers to reside at the Courts of his new Allies, with Orders to make great Instances for the speedy sending of the succours of Men and Money that were promised him to maintain him in the Party he had lately embraced. Count *Tarigny* was sent to *Vienna*, the Marquess *del Borgos*, into *Holland* and *England*, Monsieur *de Mallerede* into *Switzerland*, and Count *Picon* to the Ministers and *Vandois* of the Valleys of *Lucerne*, &c.

I shall but very slightly touch on the Motions of the Troops on both sides in *Italy*, or, to say better, I shall not speak of them at all, since the Publick News have sufficiently mentioned in what manner the Imperialists did join the Duke of *Savoy's* Troops, and with what Difficulties the *French* did oppose them in some Reincounters; I'll avoid even the mentioning of any thing that has no Relation to the Duke of *Savoy's* Intrigues, nor to the Treatment that Monsieur *de Phelippeaux*, Ambassador of *France*, has received from His Royal Highness.

The Duke of *Savoy* writ a Circular Letter to every Minister of the Valleys, to exhort them to inspire the People with a Sense of Revengefulness suitable to the Injury that the Native Land had lately received; he promised to give them some Marks of his Satisfaction, in Acknowledgment of the good Services they should do him; and he granted them before-hand an entire Liberty of Conscience throughout all his Dominions, and promised Pay of Ten Pence a day to each Soldier, besides the Ammunition Bread. These Letters were accompanied by a Declaration, by way of Letter, in favour of the Inhabitants of the Valleys; the Contents whereof were as follows.

The DUKE of SAVOY, KING of CYPRUS, &c.

Trusty and Well-beloved,

THE unheard-of Violence which the *French* have lately put in Practise against the Faith of Treaties and the Right of Nations, by disarming our Troops that were in the *Milanese* in the Service of that Crown, by detaining our Officers Prisoners, and by sending a Body of Troops to invade our Dominions, thinking to find 'em thereby unprovided with any means to withstand so unforeseen and so sudden an Invasion, obliges us to take all the Measures which Prudence and Necessity require to defend the same: We give you Advice thereof, being persuaded that the same Motives, which induced you to shew us on all Occasions in the late Wars your Loyalty and your Zeal, will inspire you with the Sentiments of giving us no less Marks thereof in this present War, which is far more important: To this end you ought, without Loss of Time, to form your Companies, and to admit all the *French* Refugees that shall retire into the Valleys, and even to invite them to come there to act jointly

“ with you, the Substance of whom we shall provide for by one of our
 “ Commissaries, whom we will send to that Purpose; we don't enlarge any
 “ more upon the Reasons that ought to invite you to it; our Dominions,
 “ our Honour, and the Welfare of your Religion are concerned in it:
 “ We know that you are too sensible of all these things, to make any doubt
 “ that you will dispose your selves to do all your Endeavours to contribute
 “ to it with the utmost of your Zeal, as we expect it from all our good and
 “ loyal Subjects, and upon this we pray God to keep you in his holy and
 “ worthy Protection. Signed *Victor Amedaus*, at *Turin*, the 5th of *October*,
 1703.

The Duke of *Savoy* writ the 8th of *October* to the Queen of *England*, and to the States General, in such Terms as might give to understand what Dispositions he had always been in for the Allies; as those two Letters are almost entirely alike, we shall only give a Copy of That that was sent to Her *Britannick Majesty*.

MADAM,

“ OUR inviolable Zeal for the Interest of the most serene House of *Au-*
 “ *stria*, and for the common Cause, having given some Suspicion
 “ to the *French Court*, has induced them to exercise against us a Violence
 “ hitherto unheard-of, against all manner of Publick Faith, since they dis-
 “ armed and made Prisoners all the Officers and Soldiers of our Troops that
 “ are in the Army of the two Crowns in *Italy*; we acquaint your Majesty
 “ therewith; and assure you, at the same Time, that we are very glad
 “ that a Treatment of this Nature does afford us the Liberty effectually to
 “ shew to your Majesty the hearty Desire we have always had, to join our
 “ selves with the Mighty Allies of your Majesty, and to concur with them
 “ to drive the Common Enemy of *Europe* out of the *Spanish Dominions*; to
 “ put the Lawful Sovereign *Charles III.* in Possession of them. We hope,
 “ *Madam*, from your Royal Friendship, that your Majesty will assist us
 “ with all the necessary Succors, to maintain firmly so just a Cause, for
 “ which we are ready to sacrifice all that lies in our Power; and wishing
 “ your Majesty thereupon all manner of Prosperity, we desire you to be
 “ persuaded that we are in sincere Truth, *Madam*, your most affectionate
 “ Friend to serve you. Signed *Victor Amedaus*, at *Turin*, the 8th of *Octo-*
ber, 1703

This Letter was made publick in *London*; though I don't believe it was done with a Design to make the Duke of *Savoy's* Apology; 'tis more likely it was intended to give the Parliament of *England* some instances of the Queen's Ability and Vigilancy, in drawing from the Interest of *France*, an Ally of that Importance, and by following so exactly the Memoirs, which King *William*, her Predecessor, had left: 'Tis at least certain, That

Declaration from the Duke of *Savoy*, occasioned the Compliments and Thanks which the Queen received from both Houses of Parliament, the very next Day they began to sit, which was the 21st of *November*.

As the Duke of *Savoy* had ceased having any Regard either for the King of *France*, or for the King of *Spain* his Son-in-Law, and intended to make the latter sensible (though he had no hand in the disarming of his Troops) that the Sins of the Fathers are visited upon the Children, unto the third and fourth Generation, he writ to the New King of *Spain* the following Letter.

SIR,

THE unhappy Circumstances in which we have found our selves, by Reason of the Situation of our Territories, have hindered us hitherto from giving your Majesty an Assurance of the true Joy we have been truly affected with, at the first News of your Majesty's Accession to the Throne of *Spain*; but as the Violence which the *French* have lately practised against us, does restore us to the Liberty, which we had lost through the fatal Alliance we had the Misfortune to sign with them, we assure your Majesty of our sincere Affection to your Interest; for which we shall always be more concerned, than for our own; and we would easily bear with the Loss of our Territories, which the *French* threaten to invade, if by this Sacrifice, we could procure your Majesty an entire and quiet Possession of those that are devolved to your Majesty by the Death of His Catholick Majesty, *Charles II.* This is what we intreat your Majesty to be persuaded of; to whom we wish all manner of Happiness and Prosperity, since we are in sincere Truth, Sir, your most affectionate to serve you. Signed *Victor Amedeus*, at *Turin*, the 16th of *October*, 1703.

Whilst His Royal Highness was disposing Matters to carry on the War with Vigor in *Piedmont*, he was mindful of keeping Peace in his Dutchy of *Savoy*, which being open on all sides, and destitute of strong Places, except *Montmalián*, he was apprehensive, not without Reason, that the *French* might easily possess themselves of it, but as his Army was too weak, to dispute with his Enemy the Entrance of it, his Council thought they had found an easy means to prevent the War in that Province: Which was by making the *Swiss*-Cantons to conceive some Jealousy of the Neighbourhood of *France*, that he might thereby interest them so far as to take the Dutchy of *Savoy* under their Protection, as they had done the Forest Towns towards *Germany*: The better to persuade them, the Duke sent the Cantons Word, That he consented to unite for ever to the Laudable *Helvetick* Body his Territories of *Savoy*, which should for the future be an inseparable Member of it.

This Proposal had not all the Success His Royal Highness expected; yet the Cantons did not neglect to propose it to the King of *France*, and to sol-

licit his Majesty even with Earnestness to obtain a Neutrality for all Savoy; this Affair has occasioned a long Negotiation: The several Memoirs of Monsieur de Mallerede, Envoy of His Royal Highness, and those of the Marquis de Puisieux, Ambassador of France, have fully informed the Publick with the Reasons that were alledged on both sides, and this Negotiation is too fresh still to oblige me to insert here the Memoirs I have kept of it. I shall only observe by the by, that all this long Dispute had no other effect, than the getting a Declaration from the Marquis de Puisieux, who, in a Memorial, which he presented on the 25th of July, 1704. to the Diet assembled at Baden, assured the Laudable Cantons, " That he was ordered by the King, his Master, to declare to Them, that since the Duke of Savoy had refused a general Neutrality of all his Dominions, His Majesty, out of a meer Consideration for the Helvetic Body, was ready to grant a Neutrality for the Territories of Chablais and Fossigny, and to pass his Royal Word, that at the Conclusion of the Peace, He would not reunite the Duchy of Savoy to his Crown; and that this was all he was to offer in His Majesty's Name.

The Faithfulness of my Relation obliges me to make one Remark on the first Memorial which Monsieur de Mallerede presented to the Canton of Zurich, the 23d. of October. 1703. That Minister, after having set forth the Indignity of disarming his Master's Troops, affirms, that when Monsieur de Philippeaux was Arrested at Turin, he told Count Tarigny, who came to signify to him the Duke of Savoy's Order, *His Royal Highness has not so much Reason to secure my Person, as the King had to disarm his Troops: Could he doubt that he being in the King's Pay, that Monarch was Master of his Person, of his Troops, and of his Dominions?*

Though I don't design to justify the French Ambassador, I can't forbear taking Notice that this Discourse seems very flat, and 'tis so unbecoming a Minister, that the Swiss, how clownish soever they may be thought, gave no manner of Credit to it; and really this Discourse was never uttered by Monsieur de Philippeaux: I have observed part of the Terms he made use of, but to prove that Count Tarigny's want of Memory, (for I won't say it was done out of Malice either by him or by Monsieur de Mallerede,) has done the Ambassador of France this ill piece of Service, I shall relate here the very Words that Minister made use of: Thus he spoke to Count Tarigny,

Concerning the pretended Violence which you complain has been committed against your Troops, I am obliged to tell you, that the King ought not only to have treated 'em in that manner; but to have seized the Towns, Dominions, and every thing belonging to the Duke of Savoy, who being tied to His Majesty by a solemn Treaty, without any Clause, and always religiously observed on our Part, entertains here, these three Months ago, the Emperor's Ministers, with whom he continually treats, contrary to the Faith he has given us; and was ready to make War upon us, when the King prevented Him.

Since we did insensibly return to the *French* Ambassador at *Turin*, let us examine, before we leave him quite, some of the Reasons of his Discontent, leaving the Reader the liberty to judge whether they be well or ill grounded.

That Minister receiving no manner of Answer upon his having ask'd Count *Tarigny* for a Pass from the Duke of *Savoy* to send a Courier into *France*, spoke anew of it the 11th. of *October* to the Marquis d' *Aix*, his Guardian Angel, adding that he wou'd dispatch this Courier only to fetch him some Money for his Subsistence; or if this could not be granted, he desired that the *Jews* of *Turin* might at least be permitted to come into his House to buy his Household Goods, and be watched by all the Soldiers of his Guard.

He represented besides, That the unpresidented Strictness with which he was guarded, and the long Discontinuance of letting the King, his Master, hear from him, would make his Majesty think worse Things than he could write him; moreover, That the entire Violation of the Law of Nations ought not to hinder his being at least treated as a Prisoner: That amongst the Nations that make the most cruel War upon one another without either Cartel or Quarter, they did not refuse the Prisoners whom they left alive the liberty of sending Tidings to the Enemies Camp, either by a Drum, or by a Trumpeter, to inform their Friends of their Condition, and to ask the Succours they stood in need of.

The Ambassador complaining always of the Violation of the Law of Nations as to his Person, took occasion to speak to Monsieur d' *Aix* of the Misfortunes which the War that was going to kindle might bring on the Duke of *Savoy*, to which the Officer answered, laughing, *His Royal Highness was no loser by having engaged in the late War; he'll get better yet out of this.*

As the Court of *Turin* feared, that the *German* Soldiers, who mounted the Guard at the *French* Ambassador's House, might be too apt to be corrupted, they were relieved the 12th. of *October* by the Regiment of *Savoy*, which being composed of none but His Royal Highness's Subjects, were thought less corruptible.

The next Day, about Midnight, the Marquis d' *Aix* came into the Ambassador's Chamber, and told him, *His Royal Highness has commanded me, Sir, to deliver to your Excellency a Letter that is directed to you, it has not been broke open; a Courier will set out to Morrow Night for France, your Excellency may make use of that Opportunity; but, by reason of the juncture of Affairs, His Royal Highness desires you, if you do write, to leave your Letter open; His Royal Highness has also commanded me to tell you, that the Jews will be allowed to come to Morrow to your House to buy your Household Stuff.*

This Letter was a Triplicata of a Dispatch from the King his Master, but both the Original and the Duplicata remained in the Duke's Hands, who consequently knew what it contained, it was dated the 9th. of *October*, on which day they could not have had Advice of what had been done at *Turin*.

on the 3d. of the same Month. The most Christian King ordered his Minister to speak to the Duke of *Savoy*, and prescribed him the Terms he was to make use of, that he might, without exposing the Honour of Royal Majesty, tell him the Reasons that had obliged him to seize his Troops; that it should be in his Royal Highness's Power to make his Subjects enjoy a perfect Peace; that if he was willing to break off the Intrigues he entertained with the King's Enemies all Things should be restored to the same State they were in at the beginning of the Campaign; that His Majesty even left him at the liberty of an entire Neutrality; and lastly, that his Troops should be restored to him, if he would give His Majesty sufficient Security that he would not unite himself with the Enemies of the two Crowns during the whole Course of this War. This Dispatch marked, besides the Place, the Days, and the Moments of the Duke's Conferences with the Imperial Ministers, and the Substance of part of what was treated therein. That Monarch gave his Minister Advice how the Marquis de *Torcy*, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, was, by his Orders, gone to have the Ambassador of *Savoy*, Count *Vernon's* Word, that he would not go out of the Kingdom until Advice were had of Monsieur de *Philippeaux's* being arrived on the Frontier, in order to be exchanged with him in Case of a Rupture; and that, this only excepted, His Majesty left him at his liberty as before.

There is this to be observed besides, which the Dispatch did not mention, viz. That the most Christian King had ordered Monsieur de *Libais*, a Gentleman of his Bed-Chamber, to keep Count *Vernon* Company, both to honour his Character, and to defend his Person from the Insults which he had reason to fear from the Mob, who, as they are always insolent, did much grumble at the Conduct of the Duke his Master.

Monsieur de *Philippeaux* was not in a Condition to execute the Orders that were given him, and was the more concerned at the hard Treatment which both his Person and Character received, by the difference he perceived between his and Count *Vernon's* Fortune; neither could he resolve to send his Master an open Letter by the Duke of *Savoy's* Couriers whilst Count *Vernon* did both send and receive his Dispatches with full Liberty, and without their being examined by any Body; neither was the Law they would impose upon him ever practised before at any of the Christian Princes Courts, with regard to any Person that was honoured with the eminent and respectful Character of an Ambassador.

The next day the Marquis d' *Aix* asked the Ambassador for his open Letter, who told him the just Reasons he had not to write in this manner, that if he should, the King his Master would be in the right to punish him for it; he renewed his Instances for a Pass to send one of his own Couriers, and offered to impart to His most Christian Majesty what His Royal Highness should be willing to let His Majesty know in his Name, but these new Instances were of no more effect than the former.

But how should they have granted him such a Request? when he was obliged to sue for a Fortnight to obtain Leave for a Chimney-Sweeper to come and sweep the Chimney in his Chamber, which was only granted him with this Precaution, that he should be watched by two Soldiers all the while he should be about that Work.

Some days after that Minister complained to the Marquis d' Aix, that notwithstanding what he had promised him no Jew had come to him yet; the next day the Marquis brought one Gicamette, a rich Merchant of Turin to him, which made an Inventory of all his Household-Stuff, and promised to come again to strike up the Bargain after he should have examined every thing, but he was forbidden to come into the House, as well as any other Person, without being told any Reason for it.

The Ambassador desired Monsieur d' Aix to permit him to send a Note to the Turin Banker that used to serve him, on which they would remit him Money from Paris; he offered to entrust the Note with any Body Monsieur d' Aix should name, even any of the Officers of his Guard, which was refused him, and this Hardship made him fancy they had a mind to reduce him to the very last Extremities, which could not be but soon, considering he had Eighty Mouths (Persons or Horses) to feed, and that his Steward could not go to Market without ready Money.

Monsieur d' Aix, in a Conversation he had with the Ambassador, said, that he did not doubt but this War would procure His Royal Highness far greater Advantages than those which the most Christian King was forced to grant him after the most unprofitable Victories of Staffarda and of Marsaille; but the Prisoner imposed Silence to the young Savoyard Gentleman with that Confidence that is natural to those of his Character, when he replied to him, *'Tis our Enemies Interest to have for us the Esteem which we deserve, especially those we have always beaten, as the Savoyards; the French Nation is born to shew always Civility, other Nations are born to receive it without deserving it, do you, Sir, make the Application of this.*

There happened from time to time some Discourses between the Ambassador and the Marquis d' Aix, which raised a little the Spleen of the former; the Duke of Savoy took Pleasure to give him occasion for it, and the Marquis d' Aix, by his Master's Order, did often ask the Ambassador Questions, and contradicted him, yet without being wanting to the Respect he owed him; and when the Conversation had lasted for a while the Marquis went and writ down what he feared might escape his Memory, or he went to give His Royal Highness an account of it, and returned afterwards to begin a new Discourse.

They had positively promised that on the 20th. of October they would permit Monsieur de Philippeaux to dispatch a Courier into France, but if he did expect it he found himself again disappointed, for he could obtain no Pass; the Marquis told him that this Denial might proceed from the fear they had at Court lest he should inform the King his Master of the manner

he was treated with, yet that he was not ignorant that when the late War was proclaimed Monsieur de Rebenac, whose Place he now was in, had been as strictly guarded as he.

'Tis false, replied the Ambassador, that the Marquis de Rebenac was ever treated as I am; and suppose, Sir, that what you say were true, the Violation of the Law of Nations on that occasion would not authorize the Duke your Master to commit the like Attempt again; won't you say also, that because the Duke of Savoy fail'd in 1696 in the Faith he had given his Allies, he has right to fail again in it with regard to the King and His Catholick Majesty? It had been more worthy of a Prince, like he, if, thinking fit to declare War to His Majesty, he had left me at Liberty, as his Ambassador is in France; he could, without being wanting to the Respect he owes my Character, make the out-parts of my House be guarded, prevent his Subjects from having any Communication with me, tell me to dispatch a Courier to agree about my being exchanged, and have me conducted at last to the Frontier from the first day, to expect for his Ambassador's Arrival. Don't they expect at Turin that Count Vernon shall make his Escape out of France, notwithstanding the Word he has passed, as the Marquis de Salces did in the late War? These Failings in ones Word of Honour are look'd upon in France, and amongst all other Nations, with quite another Eye than they are in Piedmont.

The Marquis did not disown this Truth, but he said that he did not think Count Vernon could make his Escape, suppose he should be willing to do it, because he would have Sixscore Leagues to Travel on the Territories of France; that he did not think neither that the Exchange of the two Ambassadors should be made upon equal Terms, because Monsieur de Philippeaux, besides his Character, was dignified with the Title of Lieutenant-General; those Thoughts are pardonable in a Young Man, like him we are speaking of, who had but as yet a slight Knowledge of State Affairs, and in the Martial Law; he did not know that the Character of an Ambassador has no manner of relation to any other Employments, to which that is infinitely Superior, as being always inviolable and most respectable; and besides, that the Ambassadors of two Sovereign Princes, how disproportionable soever their Master's Power might be, enjoy the same Prerogatives, and that no manner of distinction is made between their Employments or their Person when they are to be exchanged in Case of War.

About the latter end of October the Duke of Savoy took the Field with Sixteen Battalions and Fourteen Squadrons, which were all his regular Troops consisted of; he intrusted the guarding of Turin to the Militia, so that the French Ambassador's Guard, being then composed of Peasants, they committed several Insolencies, nay, they threaten'd even to kill him, because they looked upon him as the Author of the War, which began to make them fear the Loss of their Country; when the Marquis d' Aix was acquainted with it he put some stop to their Insolency and Rudeness.

Count Jesqueri, Major of Turin, published the 28th of October at the Head of the Guards, that it was lawful to kill all the French that were

ad in the Country, and there was half a *Lewis d'ore* promised for every French Man's Head they should bring to him: But Monsieur de Vendome, who was informed of it, soon stopped the Execution of this Order, for he sent the Duke of Savoy word by a Trumpetter, that for one French Man that his Subjects should kill any other way than the Martial Law allowed of, he would cause twelve *Piedmonteze* to be executed by the common Hangman.

As the Marquess d'Aix was prepossessed, as well as the other *Savoyards* and *Piedmonteze*, with a Belief that a Treaty signed between the two Kings and the Duke of Savoy was but for three Years, and that that Time being near expiring, His most Christian Majesty had no Right to seize the Duke's Troops (which they called *Auxillaries*) and that it was a Piece of Injustice to pretend to hinder a Sovereign Prince from keeping any Persons absconded in his Territories, to treat about his Interests, since by the Expiration of his Treaty, which was near hand, he was going to be free of all Engagements; the Ambassador thought himself obliged to disabuse the Marquis, by discovering him the Truth, which the Court was glad to conceal.

You are mistaken, Sir, said he, the Treaty signed between his Majesty and the Duke of Savoy is not limited, 'tis without any Clause or Time; I own that if it had been as you say, the King my Master would have been guilty of an Attempt, for which he ought to make His Royal Highness all the Reparation he could desire: But if it be true that the Duke has failed in his Engagements in treating with the Emperor, and with our other Enemies, you must grant that the Blow which His Majesty has given, ought no otherwise to be considered than as a slight Punishment, and the Forerunner of those that the Disloyalty of an Ally deserves: As for what you call *Auxiliary Troops*, it appears to me that either you can't make a Distinction of them, or that you don't know upon what Terms those of Savoy were in the Army of the Two Crowns; *Auxiliary Troops* are those which a Prince sends gratis to another Prince, and pays with his own Money, as for Example the seven thousand Men which His Majesty sent into Hungary, in 1664. which won the Battle of St. Godard, and secured Germany; those which not long after His Majesty sent to the Republick of Holland against the Bishop of Munster; and lastly those which the King of England sent into France in 1673. But, added he, there is a great Difference between these and those you are speaking of, since not only the Troops of Savoy, but His Royal Highness's Person it self were in the King my Master's Pay; if you were well informed, Sir, with the manner that your Master has treated with us, you would not only know, as I have observed already, that the Treaty is without Limitation or Terms; but also that His Royal Highness has asked Fifteen Thousand Crowns a Month for his Person, and Five and Thirty Thousand Crowns a Month besides, for the Troops he has furnished us with; that 'tis upon these Terms that the Treaty was signed, and inviolably executed on our Part.

The Affairs of *Savoy* were at that time in so lamentable a Posture, that the Marquis *d'Aix* could not forbear shewing to the Ambassador that he was much concerned at it ; “ he told him, That his Master must undoubtedly have taken wrong measures, since the Succors he expected did not come, “ either from *Switzerland*, or from the Fleet, which was still at *Leghorn* ; “ that Count *Visconti*, who was conducting Three Thousand Horse from “ the *German Army* to him, had been beaten, which very much discom- “ pos’d His Royal Highness, who apprehended the Siege of *Turin*, and “ that part of his Subjects might forsake him ; yet that he was far from “ being dispirited, and would rather loose all than submit ; besides that he “ had always a real and very great Zeal for the Emperor’s Interest, which “ he had abandoned much against his Mind ; yet that if they could keep on “ the Defensive during the Winter, they were in hopes of powerful Suc- “ cors towards the Spring, which would not only enable His Royal High- “ ness to keep the Field with Advantage ; but also to make Progresses in “ *Dauphine*, and in *Provence*. As for the rest, that he was very sorry that “ there was no Appearance of exchanging the Ambassadors, about which “ there was no manner of Talk at Court.

Monsieur *de Phelippeaux* answered, That he did not trouble himself whether he was exchanged or not ; that he was born to die in his Master’s Service, that His Majesty knew how to demand his Ambassador from the Duke of *Savoy*, who had wilfully drawn upon himself all the Misfortunes he was threatned with ; since he had, without weighing or considering his true Interest, too much hearken’d to bad Counsel, and to unfaithful Ministers, who out of a blind Zeal for the House of *Austria*, would cause the Ruin of his Dominions ; that the Duke of *Savoy* had Reason to fear, that he might be some day or other reduced to go and beg for a Subsistence to *Vienna*, where the Emperor’s Ministers would be sure to upbraid him with his old Sins, by recalling to his Memory what he did in 1696. that if he should shut himself up in one of his Places, he may chance to have the same Fate that *Lewis XII.* made *Ludovic Sforzia*, Duke of *Milan* to undergo, or at least take a Journey like that which the Doge of *Genoa* took, or that which *Philip III.* made his Nephews, the Children of *Charles Emanuel*, to take ; and finally that it was much to the Advantage of *France*, that the Duke of *Savoy* should not repent, because his Repentance might perhaps procure him a Return of the King his Master’s Favour, to the Prejudice of the Advantage, that his Majesty would reap by the Conquest of *Piedmont*, which would for ever banish a Prince, that makes so little of breaking his Word.

That Minister entertained the Marquis, from Time to Time, with Discourses of the like weight, because he was persuaded that his Youth, and want of Experience in State-Affairs did not allow him to discourse him of his own Accord, about the Matters he spoke to him of, and besides because he knew that all their Discourses were very exactly related to His Royal Highness.

The Ambassador asked the Marquis a few days after, by way of a Question, *May one know, Sir, which Place the Duke of Savoy gives the Emperor for a Security, for he is, no doubt, too skilful and too prudent to expose himself to the Relapse of 1696.* The Marquess answered, not without blushing, that his Master would sooner perish than to give any Body his Places for a Security.

These Two Gentlemen had afterwards a long Conversation, which ran upon no other Subject, but on the Cartel about Prisoners, which at that Time was about adjusting between the two Powers. The Marquess said, That His Royal Highness did not pretend, that the Troops which he had lent the King of Spain, and had saved him the *Milanese*, should be comprehended in it, but that His Catholick Majesty should make the same good to him. *Now, Sir,* answered the Ambassador, *are those warlike Troops, which saved the Milanese so much despised, that no Body will be at any Trouble to procure them their Liberty, at a Time when the Duke of Savoy seems to have sufficient Occasion for them?*

From the very Beginning of the Month of *November*, Count *d'Aversburg*, by the Emperor's Orders, solicited the Duke of Savoy to dismiss the French Ambassador, because his Abode in *Turin*, and that Prince's Fickleness, made him always apprehensive of a Turn like that of 1696. Yet that Minister's Liberty was not granted to his Imperial Majesty's pressing Instance, till after an Imprisonment of seven Months and a half. Upon the first Proposals, that the Imperial Minister made to the Duke, in the Presence of the Marquisses *de St. Thomas*, and *de Prie*, both Ministers and Secretaries of State, His Royal Highness answered in these very Terms, *I will keep him; he is the Cause of what is befallen me, and he would do me too much Adischief afterwards. I know what he is capable of; I have seen him at Work; he knows my Troops and my Country, Vernon is of no use to me; and if St. Thomas, whom you see there, was in France, I would rather let him perish there, than to send this Ambassador home.*

The Marquis *de Prie*, who was of an amorous Constitution, had several Mistresses, and his Weakness was such that he could not conceal from them the most important Secrets that were treated of at *Turin*. Two of these *Dalilah's* never failed to inform, as often as they could, the French Ambassador with whatever they knew: That Minister, no doubt, pay'd them generously for their Advices; I had true Copies of them with much less Expence, which made me conceive a Design of composing this small Treatise, to divert the Publick with it.

In the Beginning of *December*, the Ambassador renewed his Instances to the Marquis *d'Aix*, to get him Leave to sell his Household-Stuff, or his Plate, or to treat with the Countess *de Vernon* about the Money she designed to send her Husband, if the Duke of Savoy still persisted to keep him a Prisoner: But he got no more Satisfaction than before; the Marquis told him only that His Excellency ought to be afraid to appear before

the King, since he had, by his ill Advices, and unhappy Negotiations, engaged His Majesty in a War, that was very hard to be brought to a Conclusion. The Ambassador answered, That he had always done his Duty, as a Loyal Subject; that if the Duke of *Savoy* thought he had given any bad Counsel, either through Malice or Ignorance, he had but to send him back to His Majesty, *who knew as well how to punish Liars, as to chastise those that are perfidious.*

Besides the usual Guard of the Burgesses and Peasants, four sturdy resolute Fellows were placed in the Ambassador's House, two of which used to go along with the Servants, that went for Provisions; and how exact soever they might be in their Employments, yet, for all that, they searched all that they brought into the House, with such Exactness, as to cut the Loaves in Slices, and to untie the Fagots, to see whether there was some Paper or other hidden in them; and from Time to Time they cried out in the Inner-Yard of the House, that the Author of the War ought to be torn in Pieces.

One of the ill Turns they served that Ambassador, and which he was very much concerned at, was upon Occasion of a Dozen of Fine Orange-Trees, which he kept in his Garden, having no place in his House to put them up in cold Weather, he built one on Purpose, Two Years before, at the Carmelite-Friars, whose Convent was but a little way from his House. At the Time of the Hard Frost, he desired the Marquis d'*Aix* to command some Soldiers to carry away those Orange-Trees, and that he would pay them for their Trouble, or to permit that some of his Servants might do it; the Marquess went five or six Times to ask Leave for this, but he could not obtain it, so that the violent Cold killed these Orange-Trees, and the Ambassador ordered them to be cut in Pieces, and to be burned with their Trunk, in Presence of the Marquess, who could not forbear shrugging up his Shoulders at it.

Hitherto they still fluctuated between Fear and Hope of a Reconciliation with the Duke of *Savoy*. The Pope and the other Princes of *Italy*, judging that this new Falling out would perpetuate the War in *Lombardy*, used all their Endeavours to procure that Accommodation. They had got already the most Christian King's Word to let His Royal Highness enjoy an entire Neutrality; the Troops under the Duke of *Vendosme's* Command had not as yet undertaken any Thing of Moment; they contented themselves with settling their Winter-Quarters in some open Places of *Piedmont*, and with the seizing the Posts, by which the *Germans* could come to the Duke of *Savoy's* Assistance, that they might dispute with them the Entrance into his Country; but as all the Attempts they made to this end proved unsuccessful, through the Duke of *Savoy's* refusing to hearken to any of the Proposals his Neighbours made him, they disposed themselves, on both sides, for War.

The 4th. of *December* 1703. a Declaration was published in *France*, and at the Borders of that Kingdom, by which the War was proclaimed against the Duke of *Savoy*; although this piece be not unknown to the Publick, I thought fit to insert it here, both because it confirms several Matters of Fact which I have already instanc'd in, and because it contains several Particulars which I would be obliged to mention afterwards, if this Declaration had not sufficiently set them forth.

By the KING.

THE Manifesto's which the Duke of *Savoy* has spread about in his Territories to induce his Subjects to rise in Arms for their own Preservation; the Impression which he intended to make on all the Courts in *Europe* upon Occasion of the Violence committed on his Troops the 20th. of *September*, when they were seized and disarmed by the Duke of *Vendosme*, by Virtue of his Majesty's Orders, might have wrought on People's Minds, had not that Prince's Unfaithfulness, already too well known, forced His Majesty to take that Resolution, so opposite to the Course he kept at the time when the Superiority of his Arms, and the considerable Advantages he obtained over the Princes and States that were in Alliance against him, had enabled him to grant them a Peace on whatever Terms he pleased. The Treaty made in 1696 between his Majesty and the Duke of *Savoy*, of which his Grandson the Duke of *Burgundy's* Marriage with that Prince's eldest Daughter was the Bond, is a very authentick Example of it, as also of the Advantages he found in breaking the Treaty that was between Him, the Emperor, *England* and *Holland*.

King *Charles II.* being deceased in the Year 1700. and the Succession of the *Spanish* Monarchy devolv'd on *Philip V.* by Right of the Blood, by the Constitution and Laws of all the Estates that that powerful Monarchy is composed of, by the late King's Will, and by the Wishes of all the People in general, this Disposition having stirred up anew the Jealousie of the Enemies of the Grandeur of *France*, His Majesty was obliged, in order to preserve that Monarchy from being dismembred, to send a few days after some Troops into *Italy*, which seemed liable to be attacked the first; His Majesty ordered at the same time a new Treaty to be proposed to the Duke of *Savoy*, by which that Prince engaged himself to furnish Ten Thousand Men of his Troops during the whole Course of the War, in Consideration of the Subsidies that were agreed upon.

“ By

"By this Treaty he was to have the Command of the two Kings Armies
 "in *Italy*; His Majesty did afterwards agree to the King of *Spain's* Marriage
 "with the second Daughter of that Duke, that he might by such great En-
 "gagements, and by the marks of so entire a Trust, strengthen the Union
 "which was to be for ever settled between His Majesty, the King of
 "*Spain*, and the said Duke, and engage him to contribute with all his
 "Power to the Advantages of the two Crowns; this Treaty was Religi-
 "ously observed on both the Kings part. Although the Success did
 "not answer Expectation the first Year, and the Emperor's Army did
 "penetrate far into *Italy*, though the Duke of *Savoy* did withdraw his
 "Troops when there was most occasion for them, it can't be said that
 "this said Treaty was not duly executed on his part.

"That Campaign was hardly ended when his Majesty, seeing what
 "Progress the Enemies Troops had made, resolved to send Thirty
 "Battalions and Thirty Squadrons to strengthen his Army, and to give
 "it that Superiority which was so necessary to re-establish the Peace
 "in *Italy*, and to take from the Emperor all Hopes of making himself
 "Master of it; 'twas at that time that His Majesty received Advices
 "from all parts of the Correspondence the Duke of *Savoy* kept with
 "the Emperor and *England*, whereupon he ordered his Ambassador to
 "make a Proposal for an Augmentation of Subsidies, and having given
 "His Majesty a Suspicion of His Loyalty, the King resolved to give His
 "Consent for the Diminution of his Troops to Half of what he was to
 "furnish, and that the King of *Spain* should come himself to head the
 "Armies.

"These Suspicions, already too well grounded, did still encrease by
 "the certain Assurances of the Negotiations, and by the Proposals to treat
 "with the Emperor; all the Care that Duke took to keep the Secret did
 "not prevent its being dived into, nor the Gazettees from being filled up
 "with the Conditions of it, nor the Emperor's Ambassador at *Rome* from
 "telling the same publicly, nor His Majesty from being acquainted by
 "unquestionable Advices, that Count *d' Aversperg*, the Emperor's Mini-
 "ster, arrived at *Turin* the 15th. of *July* last, with all the necessary Powers
 "to conclude the same.

"Such a base Negotiation could not appear to the Sight of the Publick
 "without moving their Indignation, for which Reason it was that it was
 "carried on the Night time, in the Marquis *d' Prié's* House, where that
 "Minister did abscond for a long while, and where the Duke of *Savoy* and
 "Count *de la Tour* had frequent Conferences with him.

"'Twas at that very time that the Duke of *Savoy* ordered publick Pray-
 "ers to be made to obtain the Assistance of Heaven on account of the Per-

“plexity he was in; ’twas the same Course he followed in 1696, when
 “he forsook the Party of the Emperor and of his Allies.

“The Rumour of Count *d’Aversperg* being in *Turin* was too much spread
 “abroad, and therefore he retired to Count *Tarigny’s* Country-House,
 “where the Marquis *de St. Thomas* repaired very often, and where the
 “Duke of *Savoy* went himself several times; His Majesty being well in-
 “formed of all his Steps, which was confirmed by a Letter from Count *d’*
 “*Aversperg* to Count *Zinzendorf*, dated at *Turin* the 13th. of *August*; which
 “was intercepted, ordered his Ambassador to speak to the Duke of *Savoy*
 “about it, who sent Count *Vernon* Orders to make to the King publick
 “Protestations of the Faithfulness of his Engagements, from which he
 “would never depart, and to assure his Majesty that there was none of the
 “Emperor’s Ministers at *Turin*, and that he would never hearken to any
 “Proposals made in his Name; he sent the like Orders to his Ambassador
 “at *Madrid* for the King of *Spain*.

“Such Conduct leaving His Majesty no more Reason to doubt of that
 “Prince’s Unfaithfulness, the King, out of a Precaution, which was as
 “just as necessary, ordered the Duke *de Vendosme* to disarm that Prince’s
 “few Troops which remained in His Majesty’s and in the King of *Spain’s*
 “Army, to secure the same, and to advance towards his Territories, but
 “before he entered them, or committed any Act of Hostility, His Majesty
 “ordered that it should be proposed to him to give some Places for a Secu-
 “rity, and to reduce the Number of his Troops, according to the Treaty
 “of 1696, to secure the Communication of His Majesty’s Dominions with
 “those of the King his Grandson, and to prevent for the time to come the
 “Duke of *Savoy’s* ill Designs.

“These Proposals, so conformable to the Duke of *Savoy’s* Interest, and
 “which alone were capable to maintain the Peace in his Territories, were
 “rejected; he caused His Majesty’s and the King of *Spain’s* Ambassadors
 “to be taken into Custody at *Turin*, without permitting them to have any
 “Communication together, nor so much as the liberty of sending any of
 “their News, whilst Count *Vernon*, his Ambassador to his Majesty, was
 “at Liberty, upon the Word he had passed, that he would not abuse it;
 “he Arrested also all the *French*, both Officers and Soldiers of His Majesty’s
 “Troops, which passed through his Territories, he seized upon all their
 “Goods, and relying upon the Succours which he expected from his new
 “Allies, in Execution of the Treaties he had concluded with them, he or-
 “dered some Troops to go and meet *Visconti*, who was conducting 2000
 “Horse to him, which were all routed by the Duke of *Vendosme* before
 “they could join with him; he caused all his Subjects to rise in Arms,
 “he gave Commissions for new Levies, and omitted nothing to shew all
 “Europe that he made nothing of violating the Faith of Treaties. This
 “Conduct

" Conduct leaving no room to doubt any more of his Intentions, His Ma-
 " jesty, to prevent the Consequences of it, has resolved to proclaim War
 " against him both by Land and Sea, as he does by these Presents, ordering
 " and requiring all his Subjects, Vassals, and Servants, to fall upon the
 " Duke of *Savoy's* Subjects, and forbids them very strictly to keep hence-
 " forth any manner of Communication, Commerce, or Correspondence
 " with the same, upon Pain of Death; and to this end His Majesty has
 " from this present time revoked and does revoke all Permissions, Passes,
 " Safeguards, and safe Conducts, that might have been granted by Him-
 " self, or by his Lieutenants-General, and his other Officers, contrary to
 " these Presents, and has declared and does declare the same to be void
 " to all Intents and Purposes, forbidding whomsoever it may be to have any
 " regard for the same. His Majesty orders and requires Monsieur the
 " Admiral, the Marshals of *France*, Governors and Lieutenants-General
 " for His Majesty in His Provinces and Armies, Marshals de Camp, Co-
 " lonels, Mestres de Camp, Captains, Chiefs and Leaders of His Soldiers,
 " both Horse and Foot, *French* or Foreigners, and all his other Officers
 " whom it may concern, that they cause the Contents hereof to be execu-
 " ted, every one according to his Trust, within the Compass of their
 " Powers and Jurisdictions; for such is the King's Pleasure, who willen-
 " and commands that these Presents be published and affixed in all the
 " Towns, Ports, Havens, and other places in His Kingdom and other
 " His Dominions where it shall be required, that none may pretend Igno-
 " rance. Given at *Marly* the 4th. Day of *December* 1703. Signed Lewis,
 " and lower CHAMILLART.

Whilst they were making Preparations in *France* for the War of *Savoy*
 that Prince omitted nothing at the Courts of his new Allies to obtain all the
 Succours they had flattered him with, and of which he stood in great want.
 The *Dutch* were those that seemed to mistrust the Duke the most, they
 looked upon this new falling out as a Fire of Straw, which makes at first
 a great Blaze, and leaves at last neither Ashes nor Coals; nevertheless
 they amused the Marquis *del Borgos*, Envoy of *Savoy*, with general Promi-
 ses, but before they gave him any real Assurances they would dive into
 that fickle Prince's true Sentiments; yet after, his Minister had remained
 for Two Months *incognito* at the *Hague*, he made his publick Entry the
 23d. of *January* 1704, and by the Speech he made to the States-General
 " he at first represented His Royal Highness's generous Resolution for the
 " Common Cause, the great Idea his Master had of the *Dutch* Republic;
 " that the remembrance of a Friendship which had been at all Times
 " so precious to him made him wish for their powerful Alliance; that
 " the Opportunity which left his Master at the liberty of expressing
 " his real Sentiments revived his Joy; that he had a Royal Sen-
 " of the Affection of which their High Mightinesses had.

him instances in as bad Conjunctions as that which now offered it self; that the hearty desire his Royal Highness had of uniting himself with them, was not the Consequence of any Animosity, contracted by what happened lately, but rather an Effect of his true Zeal for the Interest of the common Cause, for which he was going to expose his Dominions, exhalt his Exchequer, and spill his own Blood, and that of his Subjects, that he might shew to all the World, the Zeal he had for the Liberty of Europe; he assured them afterwards, that his Royal Highness should never make any particular Treaty with their common Enemies, and that he should never lay down his Arms, until such a time as he should see the lawful Heir to the Crown of Spain settled on the Throne. The Baron de Lintelo, made to the Envoy of Savoy an answer in the Name of the States General, and told him amongst other things, that their High Mightinesses had never doubted but they shou'd see the Duke of Savoy unite himself, some time or other, with them, notwithstanding the Alliances he had contracted with France; and that he wou'd Assist them in the maintaining the Rights of the August House of Austria; that as for their Part his Royal Highness might be assured that they would defend him, as long as he should prove a stedfast and faithful Ally. Those are the very Terms, which the Minister of Savoy, and the Deputy of the States General made use of.

As Count d' Aversperg could not obtain from the Duke of Savoy, that Monsieur de Philppeaux should be sent back into France, he insisted that his Royal Highness might, at least, send him out of Turin, where his Abode was very suspected to him, and this Request was at last granted him.

The 15 of December Count Jesquery Major of Turin went to the Embassadour in the Duke of Savoy's Name, and told him: *The Master of the Ceremonies being absent, his Royal Highness sends me, Sir, to acquaint your Excellency, what he thinks fit to have you conducted to Coni, and to know from your Excellency when you will be pleased to depart.* To which the Marquis d' Aix added, *his Royal Highness has also ordered the Major and me, to tell you, Sir, that he is willing you should keep a Score of your Servants to wait on you; and that he will provide passes for the others in order to their return into France, through Savoy; you are allowed in this no other Liberty than the choice of those you'll be willing to keep.*

This order being no ways agreeable to the Embassadour, he answered in these Terms. "Since the Duke of Savoy takes upon him a Right, which does not belong to him, it is equal to me whether he sends me to Coni or any where else; I am ready to depart: But as neither my self, nor my Servants, are so unfortunate as to be Born his Subjects, nor to be at his Charge, he has no manner of Authority

“over them ; he will have me keep only Twenty of my Servants ;
 “Fifty are hardly sufficient to wait on me : ’Tis not his Business to
 “Trouble himself about it, besides the solidity of these Reasons, here
 “is a better still ; the Duke of *Savoy* who has always denied me a Pass
 “to let one of my Servants go over into *France*, is now willing I should
 “send above Thirty away. but I won’t ; and if he persists in this Vi-
 “lence, tell him, in my Name, that he must send a good Number of
 “Resolute Grenadeers to my House, for they shall never take any of
 “my Servants from me but by Force ; I am fully perswaded that we
 “shall have the Worst in this Battle, ’twill be the only the Duke of *Savoy*
 “ever won ; but let him take heed what shall come on’t ; Pray, don’t
 “forget, said he to the Marquess, one single Word of my Answer.

The Marquess went Three times successively to the Court, before
 that difficulty could be removed ; and ’twas but the next Day that his
 Royal Highness approved of the Reasons the Embassadour had of not
 parting with his Servants, yet he sent him Word that the Number of so
 many Servants in Arms made him uneasy, for what might happen on
 the Road.

“There are several ways, said the Embassadour, to calm the Duke
 “of *Savoy*’s Fear in this matter ; as to Augment the Number of my
 “Guards proportionably to the Number of my Servants ; or to give me
 “leave to send to the Duke of *Vendome* for a Pass, for the Guard that
 “shall carry me to *Coni*, or to take my Word, that if we meet
 “with any *French* on the Road, neither I nor my Servants, will no
 “ways meddle between them, but only stand as Spectators of the
 “Fight, and Pray to God for the just Cause ; that I will also engage
 “that during my abode at *Coni*, neither I nor my Servants shall make any
 “attempt against the Duke of *Savoy*’s Service, and besides that, I never
 “cared much to see many of my Servants in Arms as I Travel for
 “Fear of some disorder ; that to lessen the Terrour of the Guard that
 “shall Conduct me, I offer to have all the Arms of my Servants put up
 “as far as *Coni*, provided they don’t impose upon me any Necessity
 “for it, and that it be out of my own free Will.

The Duke of *Savoy* accepted of these last Conditions, and the Mar-
 quess de *St. Thomas* went to fetch the Declaration which the Embas-
 sadour gave in writing, of which this is the true Copy :

*His Royal Highness having sent Monsieur de Philippeaux a Proposal to go
 to the Town of Coni, for the greater Security of his Person, during his abode
 in Piedmont, until he be exchanged, with an offer to grant Passes to those of his
 Servants, he should have no Occasion for, and should be willing to send back,
 that he might by this means, be rid of the Trouble of continuing to take the pre-
 cautions, he had hitherto thought convenient, in this juncture ; Monsieur de
 Philippeaux has passed his Word of Honour, by this present Declaration, not*

to go out of the Town of Coni, nor to permit any of his Servants to make his escape, in what manner soever, nor to attempt any thing, either by himself, or by the means of his Servants, that may be against his Royal Highnesses Service, nor to be any way Privy to it; but that he will keep there, and Walk about the Town with the Officer that shall be appointed to attend him, and that he shall not permit his afore-mentioned Servants to go out of his House, but Five at a time, and accompanied by those that shall be likewise appointed to attend them; not only during his abode at Coni, but also all the time he shall remain in the Duke of Savoy's Dominions, in his March, or otherwise until the Exchange before-mentioned be made: In Witness whereof he has signed this present Declaration, and Sealed it with his Coat of Arms, done at Turin the 20 of December, 1703. Signed

Phelippeaux.

The Day this Declaration was Signed was the same, that was set for that Prisoner's departure; but let us see what happened in the Preparations of this Journey. The Embassadour had asked for a thing that was promised, but was not perform'd; viz. that the Duke of Savoy should order several Passes to be delivered to the Officer that should be intrusted with the Guard of his Person, to be given him one after another at Coni, to send Back into France those of his Servants, Horses or Baggage, which he should think fit, and when he should Please, according as he should find his Conveniencies at Coni.

He asked also for Packers and Carriers, whom he offered to Pay, to carry away that part of his Household-stuff which he had occasion for, as Plate, Wardrobe, Tapistry-hangings, &c. They would never allow any of the Packers of the Town to come into his House, so that the Embassadour was happy to find some amongst his Servants, that had Skill enough to Pack up his Goods. As for Carriers, the Major of Turin sent him but one, to Bargain about the carrying of those Goods, and would permit none else to appear; this Man asked an excessive Summ, which they were forced to give him, and the Embassadour has affirm'd since his return into France, that to Travel Fifteen Leagues, from Turin to Coni, and Twenty from Coni to Antibes, it had cost him a Thousand Crowns for carriage only.

There hapned Two Passages besides, before the Embassadour's Departure: The first was that the Major of Turin would Arrest his Equipages for some Debts, which his Servants had contracted in Taverns, although the Major, at his instance, had forbidden the Inhabitants to Trust them by any Means; but as those Debts amounted only to Thirty Pistols, the Embassadour desired the Marquess d' Aix, that his Steward might be sent to all the Complainers, to Pay them to the last Penny; and to take Acquittances from them: For he would not have it said he lost any thing by the French Embassadour's Retinue. I may say by the

by, in Praise of Monsieur de Phelippeaux, that he was regretted by the Merchants and Tradefmen of *Turin*, for he carried away Acquittances for 10000 Crowns which he had laid out with them.

The Second Passage, was concerning Monsieur Pajeau, whom I have already mentioned: the Duke of *Savoy* would absolutely he should be put in Prison, because he had done the Office of a Commissary of War; notwithstanding the Embassadour reclaimed him, alledging that the King had put him under his Command; that when he arrived at *Turin* he lived in his House, during the whole Year 1701. That if he had some while before lived out of his House, they ought to know that Embassadours have a Right to get Lodgings for the Gentlemen and Servants of their Retinue, where they thought fit, when their House could not contain them; he alledged several other Reasons besides, but this did not save Monsieur Pajeau from being added to the Number of the *French* Prisoners.

Besides the Goods which Monsieur de Phelippeaux carried away, he left in *Turin* for above Three Thousand *Lewis-d'ors* worth of Furniture of Rooms, Looking-glasses, Cabinets, Coaches, Harnesses &c. of which he made an Inventory, which he left upon the Chest of Drawers in his Chamber, and kept a Copy of it. A few Days after his Departure, the Major made a Sale of them in Monsieur Pajeau's Presence; those that were tolerably good were sold; but the most precious were carried to the Palace, against the Dutcheffs of *Savoy's* Mind, who would by no means suffer it.

At the signing of the before-mentioned Declaration, the Embassadour desired the Marquess de *St. Thomas*, that when his Goods should be Sold, he would remit him the Money at *Coni*, which he promised him to do carefully; but, said the Prisoner, if my Household-stuff should not sell soon enough shall I not to be allowed to sell my Plate to the Goldsmiths of *Coni*? You'll sell and do there whatever you Please, Sir, answered Monsieur de *St. Thomas*; but you'll make so little a stay there, that you need not take all these Precautions, for you'll be exchanged in a few Days. We'll see anon how well these Promises were perform'd.

The Day of departure which had been fixed on the 20th. of *December*, was put off to the next Day, through the Apprehension they were in, that Monsieur de *Vendome* might be informed of it. On that Day about Ten a Clock in the morning, the Marquess d' *Aiz* presented to Monsieur de Phelippeaux Three Officers that were named to conduct him under a Guard of 40 Troopers, and 60 Dragoons; These Officers were Monsieur *Saraval*, late Governour of *Asti*, who in the *Dutch* Wars was a Captain in the Regiment of *Magalotti*, in the *French* Service; *Asinari* Commander of *Asti*, & le Jeune; which last was Governour of the Fort of *Alliez* in *Savoy*, and the most sociable of the Three; the other Two

having neither breeding nor humanity, for they had picked them on purpose out of the Officers that were most inveterate against France.

The Embassadour went on Horseback out of *Turin*, being preceeded by his Retinue; and half of the Guards, and followed by the rest; they lay that Night at *Carignan*, where the House that was designed for the Prisoner, had all the Windows Iron barr'd, and was surrounded with Peasants standing Centry without, and at the Doors of the Chambers; the Three Guard Officers supped with the Embassadour.

The next Day, being the 22 of *December*, they lay at *Villa-franca*, on the *Pô*; though the Road was marked through *Savillan*; but it was thought fit to change it, because of the Neighbourhood of *Asti*, of which the French were Masters. When they arrived at *Carignan*, a Dragoon told the Embassadour's under Secretary: *Our Road was changed to Day, because we were afraid to meet with the French; but in case we had, our Orders were to Kill the Embassadour and to make our escape.* I don't know whether one may give Credit to a Discourse of this kind, that was uttered by a Dragoon; but at least it is certain that when the Embassadour expostulated with *Savaral*, some time after, about it, he made no Reply.

Sunday the 23 they lay at *Verolles*, and the next Day, which was *Christmas-eve*, they arrived at *Coni*; the House to which the Embassadour was carried was nothing different from a real Prison; for besides, that the Windows were grated, they had walled up part of them, as likewise the Door of a little Garden, that was about Twenty Foot Square: Strong Guards were set about and within the House, the Centries stood Four or Five Yards from each other, and all the Doors of the Apartment were provided with them; they had also put great Wooden Barrs Cross the Places that looked out into the other Houses; all the Chimneys, except that in the Embassadour's Chamber, and in the Kitchen were walled up, so that no Fire could be made, though they were in the coldest Season in the Year. Several Doors and Three great grated Windows answered to Monsieur *de Phelippeaux's* Chamber, which being only Shut with Wooden Shutters, the Embassadour must either be exposed to the injuries of the Air, or see no Light; that Minister fell desperately Sick there, and might have Died before *Savaral* would allow him to send for Glaziers to put either Glass or Paper Sashes in them.

Upon the assurance the Marquess *de St. Thomas* had given the Embassadour, that he would be soon exchanged, he only took his Field-bed along with him, without carrying any Furniture for his Retinue, for whom the Governour of *Coni* provided Nineteen Soldiers Beds, where with Fifty Persons were obliged to make Shift, without any Distinction of Gentlemen, Pages, Gentlemen-ushers, Secretaries and others; they would not so much as allow an Upholsterer or Joyner to come into that Jail, to make Beds for those unfortunate Prisoners Conveniency. This

hardship made the Embassadour to deny *Saraval* and *Asnari* his Table, which they hitherto had: He only honoured *Le Jeune* with it, which soon drew only on him the Envy of his Companions.

They published at *Coni* by Sound of Trumpet, an order, which will appear barbarous to any unbyassed Person; by this order prohibitions were made, upon Pain of Death, to all the Inhabitants to trust the Embassadour's Retinue for any thing, or to buy any Plate, Clothes, Furniture or other Goods belonging to that Minister, or to his Retinue; which was punctually put in Execution.

On *Christmas-day* the Embassadour asked for a Priest to say Mass in his Prison; but as they had not taken the Precaution to ask the Bishop of *Monfiori's* leave, that Minister heard no Mass, his Retinue only were conveyed to it asunder, under a good Guard of Soldiers.

After a Fortnight's stay, the Prisoner who was obliged to be at great Expences, began to fear that his Money would soon fall short; where upon he asked *Saraval* whether the Marquess de *St. Thomas* had not sent him the Proceed of the Sale of his Goods at *Turin*, or whether it was not possible to have a Goldsmith of *Coni* brought to him to Buy his Plate? *Saraval* told him that he had received neither Money, nor order to permit this Sale: and besides that this Permission would be needless, since the Inhabitants of *Coni* were too Poor, to buy any thing from him; *How must I do then, Sir, said the Prisoner, to feed Threescore and Ten Mouths; since they have by a Hundred Days Imprisonment taken from me all manner of means of getting any Money, or selling what I have. Your Excell.* Said *Saraval*, in a scornful way, *has no Doubt a great deal of Money, since you are vastly Rich, and besides since you serve so great a Monarch, who has intrusted you with such important matters, he has provided you with it, and plentifully too.*

The Embassadour answered him that the matter was more serious than he thought; and that he would find it so afterwards; that he charged him to send to his Master for Leave to send either into *France* or to the Army for Money, or to sell his Plate, or after all that they should send him the Proceed from the sale of the Goods he had left at *Turin*; that the Marquess de *St. Thomas* had always deceived him, not only by Words, but also by writing, as appeared by the Declaration he had signed the Day before his Departure from *Turin*, in which amongst other Particulars it was said, *that his Royal Highness sent him to Coni for the greater Conveniency of his Person, with an offer to grant Passes for those of his Retinue which he should be willing to send into France, of which he could not as yet obtain any at all, whilst they made him suffer a grievous and close Imprisonment.* And upon *Saraval's* saying that he was not in Prison; but only in a sort of honourable Arrest. "It is true, Sir," replied that Minister, in a Passion, that if I had robbed, murdered

on the High-way; Burnt a Church, Trampled the holy Sacrament under Feet, Violated my Faith or the Law of Nations, my Imprisonment might seem to me easy to be Born; but I am kept a close Prisoner here by your Master; who has not only any manner of Right over me, but who is bound to Respect, and secure me from all manner of Danger; since I am by my Character no less inviolable in his Dominions than himself; don't you call a grievous Imprisonment, the strictness I am guarded with; their having walled up even this little Garden, that I may Perish the sooner in my Chamber? Your Master knows that at *Turin*, where I had good Equipages, and all my other Conveniencies, at least as much as he, I have through my Infirmities and the bad Climate, been Sick every Year during several Months; write all this to him, and Demand a speedy Answer.

Saraval promised to Write to *Turin*, said afterwards that he had done it, but Six Weeks pass'd without answer, *Saraval* pretending always that he had received none, though it could come in Twenty Four Hours: the Straights, to which the Minister found himself reduced, obliged him to part with his Gold and Silver Medals; they were sold by Retail to the *Jews* of *Coni*, by *Saraval* and *Asinari's* Mediation, who shared the Profit with those Unbelievers, because they only bought them at the rate of Current Coin: There was for above Four Thousand Livers of them, and he could never get Half the Value of them. This Recrute did not hold out long, because of the excessive Expence that a Man of this Character was obliged to be at, for he could get nothing, either for himself or his Retinue, or for his Horses, but with ready Money.

This lamentable Condition obliged the Embassadour once more to desire *Saraval* to sue at *Turin* for leave to send a Trumpetter of *Savoy* into *France*, or to the Duke de *Vendôme's* Army to fetch some Money, except the Duke of *Savoy* had rather to send him the Proceed of his Household-stuff, or a Goldsmith from *Turin* to Buy his Plate; all these instances being to no Purpose, he saw himself at last forced to ask for himself and for his Retinue, the Bread allowed to the Prisoners.

You see, Sir, said he, to *Saraval*, that I make use of all the means possible to avoid a Quarrel. The Duke of *Savoy* has a Mind to starve us in a Prison, why does not he send us his Hang-man to Dispatch us out of Hand. But, in short, Sir; hearken with attention to what I am going to tell you, and don't fail to Write every Word of it to your Master; I have so much left me as will keep me a Fort-night, if in that time I don't receive some Money by the reasonable Ways I have proposed, or if the Bread for Prisoners be not allowed me, my Retinue and I shall expect the last Extremity; but after We shall have been Two Days without Eating, I'll fall upon you, without telling you what Hour, we'll give Fire every where, and upon all those that shall oppose us, till we be all Killed;

Killed ; it is better to Die in this manner, than to Starve ; look to that : it is a serious Matter.

These threatnings were to some Purpose, for the 14 of February Saraval told Monsieur de Phelippeaux, that he had Leave given him to Write to the Army ; that he must give him his Letter open, and that he would send it to Turin by Le Jeune, (who was recalled, because he was less Cruel than his Two Companions, who had informed the Court, how unfit he was to perform duly the Employment he was intrusted with.) When the Embassadour had given his Letter to Saraval, he said it was Written in such Sharp Terms, that he durst not Venture the sending of it ; but the Prisoner answered, that it contained Truth from one end to the other, and that he knew not how to Write otherwise ; this Letter was directed to Count Vaubecourt Lieutenant General, or in his Absence to Monsieur de Besons, or to Monsieur de Barbesieres ; the Reader won't think it amiss to find here a true Copy of it :

A Copy of a Letter Written from Coni by Monsieur de Phelippeaux to the Count de Vaubecourt, the 14 of February, 1705.

Dear Count,

Discretion bids us be cautious of troubling our Friends, but Confidence and Trust allows us to try them on pressing Occasions. It is on this latter Principle that I make use of the Liberty that is granted me of Writing to you by a Drummer or Trumpetier, and that I desire you to send me Four Hundred Lewis-dors : It may be, that unless you incommode your self, you won't be able to part with so great a Sum, but the Treasurer of the Army, I am Confident, won't refuse to give it you, and upon the first Notice he shall send of it to Mr. Samuel Bernard, he will reimburse the same to him out of my Sallary, or Mr. Odeau, whom you know, will immediately honour your Order. This, my Dear Count is an Instance of the Trust I have in you : I must give you another of my Discretion ; I ask, Money of you, because I have none ; above Threescore Persons, Horses, and my self, without knowing what Crime we are Guilty of, have been these 146 Days kept Prisoners in all Appearance by the Law of Nations ; for certainly it is not by the Laws of War, State, or Justice : Since this long and grievous Imprisonment, I know not whether there be any other Men upon the Face of the Earth, than those that Guard me, or that Wait upon me ; it has neither been allowed nor Possible to me, to get Money any way, no not even by the Sale of my Plate, or of my Household-stuff, of which I have in Piedmont the Worth of above Five and Twenty Thousand Crowns either in my own or in other People's Hands ; yet I can assure you that I don't owe, nor never owed a Groat. The King could not be informed by me, notwithstanding my often repeated Instances, whether his Embassadour be Dead or Alive, this I Acquaint you

with, my Dear Count, that you might not delay sending me the Money I ask of you; it is impossible to be more hardly put to it. I found my self at last reduced, many days ago, to ask for the Bread that is allowed to the Prisoners, which has not yet been granted to me; if I make use of another hand, than my own, to write to you, 'tis because my Right Arm is, these two Months since of no use to me, and Pains me constantly: My infirmities, my long and grievous Imprisonment have brought me to a lamentable condition: I am without assistance, and not like to ask any from those that ought to prevent my Demands, and who have denied me every thing contrary to the Law of Nations; You will perhaps still contribute to my recovery and to prolong my Life, if you can send me a Physician for a few days; Consider whether you are within reach of your Enemies to ask this favour of 'em. Farewel, my Dear Count, let your Friendship be still the same to me as before, and be never an Embassadour, since they have ceased being unviolable, after they had been so for six Thousand Years..

This Letter was kept for several days at Turin, before it was sent to the Army; which delay obliged the Ambassadour to ask *Saraval*, whether they had robbed him of his four hundred *Lewis-d'Ors*; that he shou'd absolutely give him either that sum or the Letter back again, being fully persuaded that it had been paid upon demand. At last on the 2d of March, *Saraval* brought him an answer from Monsieur *de Besons*, with an hundred and four pistole pieces.

They brought him four days before a Goldsmith, who bought for four thousand Livres of his Plate; but it was only on condition that he shou'd lose the making, and a fifth part of its intrinsick value; 'twas no proper time at all for him to dispute about that Bargain, he was in too great want; but his Steward whether to discharge his Trust, or for any other reason, asked the Goldsmith for a Certificate of the quantity of Plate that was delivered to him, and of the sum he paid for it, which he refused, because *Saraval* had forbidden him to do it, which provoked the Ambassadour to cast this disgraceful reproach upon him.

'Sir, I asked for a Goldsmith from Turin to buy my Plate, who wou'd have paid me the full weight and value of it; but instead of that you bring me a Clerk of *Ganiba*, the Duke of *Savoy's* Receiver, and this Clerk refuses, by your orders, to give a Certificate of what he Buys: He robs me of a fifth part in the Price of the Silver, without giving any other reason for it, but that he will give no more; is it to your own, *Ganiba's*, or your Master's Profit, that I am robbed of Four score Pistoles? How can I think otherwise?

These Proceedings being reported at Turin, several Lords at the Court, seemed to be highly displeased with 'em, and some days after *Saraval* told the Embassadour, that he did not only offer to give him the Certificate, he had asked for, but also the overplus of the price of his

Plate ; that Minister told him in a scornful manner, *No, Sir, I'll have neither one nor the other at present ; one must never do any such ill things, but when one has done 'em, 'tis not very bonourable to own it.*

Monfieur de *Phelippeaux*, fell desperately sick at *Coni*, and it was thought that he wou'd end his life there ; for besides the Gout and an inward Rhumatism, he fell into a very great Fever ; In this extremity he begged of *Saraval*, in such terms as would have moved the most hard-hearted Man on earth, to get leave from the Duke his Master to send for a Physician on the Borders of *France*, by one of his Royal Highnesses Trumpetters, that this favour cou'd not be denied by a Prince, who had or might have some of his Subjects or Officers of Note in *France*, that wou'd be glad to obtain the same leave on the like occasion ; but all these instances were to no purpose ; he was absolutely denied.

It was impossible, notwithstanding *Saraval's* ill Treatment and Vigilancy to prevent the Soldiers from having some Commerce with the Embassadour's Servants, who gave 'em every day Bread, Wine, Meat, and very often Money ; which made some of 'em to run away and to carry News from that Minister, to the Duke of *Vendôme* by word of mouth ; A *French* Deserter, who was a Soldier in the Regiment of *Montferrat*, proposed several times to the Embassadour's Servants, that if their Master had a mind to Write to the Duke of *Vendôme*, he would engage to bring back an answer within six days. That Minister improved the opportunity he had through this Soldier's good will ; and gave him a Letter, and some Money, but he did not carry it far, for being got Drunk, and having spoken of his design, the Letter was taken from him, he was put to the Torture, and they wou'd have hanged him under the Embassadour's Windows, if he had not threatened to fire upon the Executioners, who chose another Place to go on with that work.

Saraval came once into the Embassadour's Chamber to tell him that His Royal Highness had intercepted a Letter which he sent to the Duke of *Vendôme*, notwithstanding he had passed his word of Honour that he shou'd not attempt any thing against his service, and that if he did continue to do it, His Royal Highness wou'd be obliged to take another course with him. To those threatnings, that Minister answered in these terms.

'Sir, you may send word to your Master, in my name, that 'tis false I did any thing against my word, since the Paper I did put my hand to, contains that I shall make no attempt against the Duke of *Savoy's*, but I did not say that I wou'd never Write ; what Right has he to pretend to hinder me from informing the King, or Monfieur de *Vendôme* of the Barbarous way I am treated with : I who as soon as I shall be at liberty, will acquaint all the World with it ? My Letter contains nothing against the Duke of *Savoy's* service, tho' a great deal

'against his honour ; I'll gain as many Soldiers as I can with Money,
 'to make 'em carry some more of such Letters, not only to Monsieur de
 'Vendôme, but to the King also, who certainly never thinks with what
 'Barbarity your Master causes His Majesties Embassadour to perish here,
 'with above Fifty Servants ; Do you know the definition of an *Infracter*
 'of the Law of Nations ? 'Tis one that is Barbarous, Perfidious and Base
 'to the Highest Degree ; what an unworthy Action 'tis for a Prince,
 'that pretends to decide of the Fate of *Europe*, to treat me after this man-
 'ner, because he fears me, as your self and those that guarded me before
 'you, have often told me to his shame ; because I have, according to
 'the strictest Rules of Honour, too well performed my duty to his Cost ;
 'Why did not he keep the *Faith of Treaties* ? You that are so bold as to
 'threaten me in his name, send him word that I defy him, that I don't
 'fear him at all ; and that if he did not fear me more than I do him, he
 'would not break the *Laws of the Nations* with so much Baseness, to
 'hinder me from being actually at the Head of a Column of Horse or
 'Foot, and from demanding satisfaction for all his Perfidious and Disloy-
 'al Actions ; that I wou'd not be the first Lieutenant General of His
 'Majesties Troops that wou'd have beaten him ; that as I have the Title,
 'I might have both the capacity and fortune to do so ; that if he shall
 'push matters with me to the last extremity, as he threatens to do, I
 'wou'd have this entire satisfaction in perishing, that all *Piedmont*, and
 'all the whole House of *Savoy*, wou'd not be a sufficient Sacrifice
 'to Justice, nor atone the irreparable indignity he wou'd offer to the
 'King my Master, in the Person of his Embassadour. Don't you know
 'Sir, that the King knew how to chastise the insults offered to Count
 'd'Estrades at London, and to the Duke de Crequi at Rome ; I am Embas-
 'sadour from the same King, whom they served in the same quality ;
 'yet there is as vast a difference between a Pope, or a King of *Spain*, and
 'a Duke of *Savoy* ; as there is between the treatments I have received,
 'and those that drew upon those great Princes the just indignation of
 'his Majesty, who also took into his Protection the Prince of *Furstem-*
 '*berg*, who was only a Bare Minister of *Cologne*, when the Emperour
 'caused him to be carried away against the Law of Nations ; It is that
 'same King, whom I have the honour to serve, and whom his glory has
 'Intituled to be awed and respected by all Sovereign Princes.

To return to the Letter that Monsieur de Phelippeaux Writ to Mon-
 sieur de Vendôme, and which caused the Death of the Soldier that had
 charged himself with it, it was Dated from *Coni*, the 5th. of *March* 1704.
 of which this is the Copy ; one may judge by it, whether the Duke
 of *Savoy's* Complaints were well grounded, or not.

My Lord,

This is the first Opportunity I have had to Write, I know not whether it will succeed; I am in the Sixth Month of a grievous Imprisonment, used, not according to the Law of Nations, but against all manner of Humanity; the Particulars of it would be as long and tedious as they are incredible; as for the Continuance and the Consequence of it, I don't Fear them with regard to my self; I have done my Duty in all things, that's enough for me; but the King and all France are concerned in the treatments done, and to be done to his Majesties Embassadour. Count Vernon whom the Duke of Savoy does not care for, is no sufficient Security for me: I really believe that this Prince would shew me his hatred and resentment with the loss of some other of his most considerable Subjects: I entreat your Lordship, either to let the King know what I Write to you, or to send him this Note, after you'll have uncipher'd it; the Person that shall deliver it to you, has promised to bring me an answer, &c.

As Monsieur de Phelippeaux complained always of the Duke of Savoy's ill treatments, and did it in such Terms as did not please Saraval, he told him once, that he would acquaint his Royal Highness with it, and as he would certainly inform the most Christian King of it, his Majesty would no doubt Punish him for it. To which that Minister answered, that all his Complaints were groundd upon the Law of Nations, which was so basely violated in his Person; as for the rest, that he did not trouble himself with what his Master did, for he little cared whether his Master did rightly govern his Dominions or not, nor whether he kept or infringed the Treaties he had signed, but that he repeated it again, that with regard to him, the Duke was the most unjust and the most unfaithful of Men; and that he did not fear his threatenings; you acquit your self too well, added he, of the vile Employment, your Master has given you, to be discharged from informing him of all that I say to you; to which Saraval answered, that he did not know why he complained so much of him, after all the Civility he shewed his Excellency.

Civility! Replied the Embassadour, I would have you know, Sir, if you don't, that there is no Body in your Master's Dominions, without excepting so much as the Princes of his Blood, but what owe, and have always had Respect for me; He himself owes it to my Character, and has had it for me; but truly he has not well acquitted himself of it, these Six Months past; I would have you know then, Sir, that if you or any of those that are ordered to Guard me, should be wanting to that respect, I'll make you return to it, in such a manner, that you shall never be wanting to it any more.

Saraval changed Countenance, and having acquainted the Duke his Master with all that had been said both in this and in the former Conversations; he received, in all appearance, such Instructions from him as were conformable to his Duty; it is certain at least, that the Term
of

of *Civility* came never out of his Mouth afterwards, on the contrary he made very often use of those of *most humble respects* in his Discourses; He desired the Embassadour not to charge his Person with the Injuries he received, assuring him, at the same time, that he had several times applied to the Court for an Order to have the walled Door of the Garden broke open, and to send for a Physician, and for all the other succours he was in need of, without having ever had an answer to those Points: That as for his part, he did but execute the orders that were given him, which he was bound to comply with: *I am sorry, Sir*, said the Embassadour, *that you force me to answer you, that your Conduct has a great Relation with the Hang-man's, who Embraces and asks Pardon of the Man he is a going to Hang, alledging the same Reason, which you told me just now: If you really Act out of your own Motion, you are the most Wicked of Men, and if you act by Virtue of an Order, I do you the Justice to say, that there is one more Wicked than your self.*

Besides the Injuries, which the Embassadour received in his House, they offered him a Thousand Indignities in the Persons of his Servants, whom they reviled after a strange manner about the Town, without any opposition from the Soldiers that guarded them; some of the Inhabitants seeing that the Steward bought a Hundred Weight of Butchers-meat every Day, told him, *that is a great deal of Meat for such Rogues as you, who, as well as your Master, deserve all to be sent to the Gallies:* The Embassadour complained to *Saraval* about it, but this insolency like many others, which would be too tedious to insert here, pass'd unpunished.

The Embassadour did not stir out of his Chamber for Seven Months and a Half together, though if he had pleased, he might have walked about the Town of *Coni*; but he had Two Reasons that hindred him from it; first, because he would not Expose himself to the Indignities of the Mob, which is very insolent, besides, that the Dignity of his Character did not permit him to go Abroad without some Retinue, and no Body was allowed to go Abroad without being surrounded with Soldiers in Arms. Secondly, because he would not leave his Papers out of Sight, for he could never resolve to Burn them, because he kept several Original Pieces of the Secret Negotiations of the Duke of *Savoy* with the Enemies of the Two Crowns, to Justifie the Notice he had sent of them. Those that were most precious to him, were always at his Bed's Head, and all his Servants Weapons in his Chamber, ready to be made use of in case of Necessity, if any Body had attempted to carry them away.

Afinari was no less rude than *Saraval*; and amongst several Reasons of Complaint he gave the Embassadour, there were Two, which I can't pass over in Silence: He came one Night into one of the Rooms
where

where the Servants were making Merry, singing and drinking, by their Masters Leave ; *Afinari* with his Cane threw all down, Candle, Bottles and Glasses, and even struck (by chance, as he said) one of the underSecretaries ; he went immediately to ask Monsieur *de Phelippeaux's* Pardon for it, but he reprimanded him after such a Rate, as he deserved, for having dared to attempt any such thing.

The same *Afinari* came often to listen at the Doors of the Embassadour's Apartment, who being acquainted with it, told him : Sir, you have Centries in and about my House ; you may place some in my Chamber and at my Beds Feet ; they'll be respected ; but you come in the Night time to listen at the Doors, which is a very ill thing, I forwarn you, that if you do it again, you'll be killed ; he took the Advice ; for he did not come there any more.

They invented every Day some new ways to Vex the Embassadour ; the Poor that used to come in great Numbers under his Windows to receive his Alms, were Beaten away, because they cried out of Gratitude, God keep and bless this good Lord, may the blessed Virgin preserve him from Harm.

They searched narrowly every thing that was brought to the Embassadour's, even so far as to put their Arms to the elbow into the Jars they made use of to fetch Wine from the Town, to see whether there was any Letter hidden there ; *Saraval* and *Afinari* did it several times themselves, but when they did not, they ordered it to be done by some of the Soldiers, who for the most part were Lousy and Scabby Fellows, and this Wine was to be drunk afterwards ; yet it is to be observed that they never went to buy Provisions without a Guard, and that they were not satisfied tho' the Soldiers had seen the Wine poured into the Jars.

In less than Two Months the Prisons of *Coni* were filled up with Soldiers and Townsmen, that had spoken to that Minister's Servants, without any other Reason, but a bare Suspicion, though it was very hard for them to buy any thing without speaking : One single instance will be sufficient to prove this Severity : A Gentleman of the Embassadour's Retinue went to a Shoemaker, under a Guard of Three Soldiers, to bespeak a Pair of Shoes ; when they were made, the Man came, and asked the Officer of the Guard leave to come in, to try on the Gentleman's Shoes, and to receive the Money for them ; *Saraval* and *Afinari* took the Shoes, which they unsowed without finding any thing in them, after which they threw them in the middle of the street, and had the Shoe-maker carried to Prison.

I shall no more enlarge upon *Saraval's* barbarous behaviour, though it might afford Subject enough for a much longer Narrative than this ; He was recalled to take Possession of the Government of *Mont-doux*, which

which the Duke of Savoy bestowed upon him, in Consideration of his good and agreeable Services.

Count *Montroux* came and took his Place, and tho' he left Matters almost in the same situation that he found 'em in, his Carriage was quite different from his Predecessor's, whose Employment he wou'd no doubt have refus'd to accept upon the same terms. For Monsieur *de Montroux* is a Man of Quality, of very good Breeding, and of a charming Conversation; he express'd a great concern for the many Displeasures that *Saraval* had given to the Embassadour; and endeavour'd to perswade his Excellency, that the Court had no hand in the Cruelty that he had been us'd with; but the Embassador gave him well enough to understand, that the Course his Goaler (for so he constantly call'd *Saraval*) had kept with him, was not unknown to his Master.

This Monsieur *de Montroux* is the same, who in 1703. resided for a considerable while at *Montpellier*, under pretence of a Sickness, and entertain'd secret Intelligences with the Malecontents of the *Cevennes*, of whose Condition he informed his Royal Highness, whilst Count *d'Aversperg* was negotiating at *Turin*.

He propos'd several times to the *French* Minister, to go abroad with him either on Foot or on Horse-back, and that he should be accompanied with those of his Servants whom he pleas'd; but he thanked him for it, and told him that Matters should remain with respect to him, in the same State that they had been in for above Six Months past; that is to say, that he wou'd not go out of his Chamber; and that he thought he received comfort enough from the Company of a Man of his Merit.

On the first Day of *May*, Monsieur *de Montroux* brought his Prisoner: News of Count *Vernon's* being arriv'd at *Antibes*, where the exchange of the Embassadours was to be made, that he wou'd have the Honour to accompany him thither, and that he expected Eight Life-Guard-men, under the Command of a Brigadier, which wou'd arrive on the 7th of that Month, to do it with more Honour, and that he desired His Excellency to dispose himself for that Journey.

At last, the happy Day of his Departure being come, they provided the Embassadour with Threescore Horses or Mules to carry his Equipages, and part of his Retinue; they left *Coni* on Friday the 9th of *May*, 1704. and lay at *Limon*: Four of the Duke of *Savoy's* Life-Guard-men began the March, they were followed by the Baggage and Retinue; after them came the Embassadour on Horseback, having Count *Montroux* on his Left, and the other Four Life-Guard-men with the Brigadier closed the March: The Garrison of *Coni* stood on their Arms, and lined the way; they presented their Arms out of respect, but they did not beat the Drum, nor fire the Guns, either there, or upon all the Road,

Monsieur de Montroux made the Embassadour some sort of Excuse for it, as likewise because they did not offer him the Presents of the Town, as was usually done to Embassadours; adding, it was by reason they had not used those Ceremonies in *France* to Count *Vernon*; to which Monsieur de Phelippeaux replied,

Sir, They might have saved you the trouble of passing this Compliment upon me; it had been needless and mortifying for the Duke of Savoy to offer me a Present which I would have refused. As for his Guns, I hope they'll soon fire upon me, and it would be very indifferent to me they shou'd now go off for me: Your Master has very well done to moderate himself upon these two points, and to be ruled by what has been done in *France*; But since he wou'd always vie with the King my Master, he shou'd have entirely followed his Majesty's Example, with regard to the Law of Nations.

The Embassadour had all the Marks of Honour and Respect shewn him upon the Road, both from Count *Montroux* and from the People where they passed: *Saturday* the 10th of *May* they lay at *Tendo*, the 11th at *Solpol*, the 12th at *Scanera*, and *Tuesday* the 13th, a little past Twelve a Clock they arrived at the Banks of the *Var*, where the Exchange was to be made: It had been the shortest way to go by *Nissa*, but they avoided it by the Duke of *Savoy's* Orders; yet the Marquess de *Carail*, who is Governour of that Place, sent the Marquess de *Senantes* his Son, with a great many Officers, to present his Respects to the Embassadour, and to beg his Pardon for not coming himself, which the present Posture of Affairs did not permit him to do: Monsieur de Phelippeaux returned that Compliment with all the Civility imaginable, and upon Monsieur de *Montroux's* asking him whether he would be pleased that the Marquis de *Senantes* shou'd accompany him as far as the place of his Exchange, that Minister answered that he had no manner of distrust of so many courteous Men.

When the Embassadour of *France* arrived on the Banks of the *Var*, Count *Vernon* was already on the other side with Monsieur *Libois*, a Gentleman of the King's Bed-chamber, and the Mousquetaires that had conducted him; the two Ministers were about a Hundred Yards from each other, when they proceeded to exchange 'em; which was done in this manner.

Their Equipages went first of all, and crossed the River both at the same time; their Retinue came afterwards, and the Embassadours at last, the *French* King's was between the Duke of *Savoy's* Guards, and Count *Vernon* between the Mousquetaires, whilst Messieurs de *Libois* and de *Montroux* stayed on the Banks to receive 'em. When the Mousquetaires left Monsieur de *Vernon*, they saluted him with the Sword, but the Duke of *Savoy's* Guards forgot to shew Monsieur de Phelippeaux the same Civility: The Mousquetaires and the Guards passed the River back again

at the same time, and in the same order, and the whole Ceremony was performed with reciprocal Courtesie.

As the French Embassadour's Equipages were greater, and his Retinue more numerous than the Minister of *Savoy's*, he desired Monsieur *de Montroux* to order the *Savoyard* Carriers to carry the same as far as *Antibes*, and that he would engage himself by writing to send them safe back, which was executed on both sides.

Monsieur *L' Huillier* Commander of *Antibes*, came to meet the Embassadour of *France* as far as the Banks of the *Var*, and made him a Reception in his Garrison, with all the Marks of Honour, that were due to his Character of an Embassador, and to his Title of Lieutenant General; the great Guns being fired, the Garrison in Arms, and the Drums beating. The *Marquesses de Roye* and *de Tourville*, who were, at that time, at *Antibes*, with Ten French Gallies did all that lay in their Power to make Monsieur *de Phelippeaux* forget the hardships of his long Imprisonment.

They also proceeded a few Days after to the exchanging of the *Marquess de Villa-Major* Embassadour of *Spain*, with the Minister, whom his Royal Highness kept at the Court of *Madrid*; when the *Spanish* Embassadour arrived at *Nissa*, they fired the Guns, as they had done all along the Road, and the People cried aloud, *God bless the Embassadour of Spain, and the Devil take the Minister of France.*

Tho' the Account I have given here of the Duke of *Savoy's* proceedings, and of the French Embassadour's suffering at that Prince's Court be very dismal and almost incredible, yet is it no less true; 'Tis to shew the faithfullness of it the better, that I have been careful in relating the very Terms, which both that Minister and those that were intrusted with the Guard of his Person, made use of in the several Conversations they had together; I'll conclude this Relation with the Abstract of a Letter which that Minister writ from *Antibes* to the King his Master the 21 of *May* 1704. When he sent his Majesty an Account of the ill treatments he had receiv'd, which no doubt contained several Particulars, that have escaped those that have communicated me the Memoirs, which have served me for this Work, and which I am ready to produce to any that shall concern himself in the Duke of *Savoy's* Justification.

' Sir, After this manner was an Embassy of Four Years terminated by an Imprisonment of Seven Months and a half; I wish I had with the loss of my Life better served your Majesty, and with more happy success; I have always been very mindful of my Duty, I ought not to do less, and I cou'd not do more; I know that part of what I have the Honour to send to your Majesty in the Memoirs hereto annexed will seem incredible, though it be very true; the Duke of

' *Sir,* who often sent me Word by my Goalers, that I was not in
 ' Prison, will no doubt persist to say the same still, but I am not modest
 ' enough to think that his Words will meet with the same Credit that
 ' mine will; he will perhaps speak about it with the same boldness,
 ' with which he assured your Majesty and the King of Spain in Septemb.
 ' last, that he made no Treaty with the Emperour, nor would ever
 ' make any; I know besides, that those who are prepossess'd against me,
 ' because I strictly discharged my Duty will be apt to insinuate that I
 ' present my Imprisonment worse than it really was; to this, Sir, I'll
 ' answer boldly, that my Life was ever blameless; that I never told any
 ' Body a Lie; is it likely then I would begin with your Majesty,
 ' who is my Master and my King, whose Justice would Punish me,
 ' as soon as your great Wisdom would have found me in a Fault?
 ' I do therefore humbly intreat your Majesty, to give me leave
 ' to set forth the Truth in all its extent; I shall disguise nothing,
 ' I omit on the contrary a Thousand instances, that are as horrid
 ' as those I mention. I got lately out of Prison with above Fifty
 ' Servants, of which Five or Six are either *Piemontezes* or *Savoyards*, all
 ' the others are your Subjects out of several Provinces; I shall soon
 ' leave them, though not till after I have cast my self at your Majesty's
 ' Feet, to beseech you, Sir, to punish me, if after they shall be exami-
 ' ned by several Persons, they depose any thing contrary to what I
 ' declare to your Majesty. As I have received here no Orders from
 ' your Majesty, I'll come to your Majesty's Feet to give an Account of
 ' my Behaviour, at soon as the Condition I am in will allow me to
 ' do it.

F I N I S.

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